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an interdisciplinary journal

HISTOIRE DE L'HORTICULTURE AU CANADA

revue interdisciplinaire

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HISTORICAL HORTICULTURAL STUDIES
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The Centre for Canadian Historical Horticultural Studies (CCHHS) was established at the Royal Botanical Gardens, Hamilton, Ontario, in 1979 through an endowment from the Dunington Grubb Foundation. The functions of CCHHS are to collect documentation on all aspects of the history of Canadian horticulture and to facilitate publication of original research in its journal Canadian Horticultural History .

HISTOIRE DE L'HORTICULTURE AU CANADA

revue interdisciplinaire

Le Centre for Canadian Historical Horticultural Studies (CCHHS) a été créé au Royal Botanical Gardens de Hamilton (Ontario) en 1979 grâce à une donation de la fondation Dunington Grubb. Le CCHHS a pour mission de recuellir des documents sur tout ce qui concerne l'horticulture canadienne et de permettre la publication d'études originales dans sa revue intitulée Histoire de l'horticulture au Canada.

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INTRODUCTION: CANADIAN HORTICULTURAL HISTORY

It is not long since garden history began to claim for itself the status of a discipline in its own right. Depths of study, techniques and the scholars themselves have all in that time became more sophisticated and in their turn have adapted proven methodology from disciplines more firmly based.

Every country has its own garden history, the development of which can be shown to be as significant to that country's culture as its more commonly documented princes and politicians. Canada's garden history is just beginning to be carefully recorded. What early gardens here may appear to lack in sophistication they gain in ethnic diversity; successful European settlements since the 16th century pressed ever westwards while dissidents from revolutionary America concentrated in the south east. As in older cultures much research is possible only from sites and relevant documentation yet some seminal influences can still be gathered from word of mouth.

Thus in 1979 the Centre for Canadian Historical Horticultural Studies was established at the Royal Botanical Gardens Library with endowment funds from the Dunington Grubb Foundation.

The purpose of the Centre is to function as a national repository for literature, documents and artifacts relevant to the history of Canadian horticulture; to collect biographical information on Canadian horticulturists, plant breeders, nurserymen, landscape designers and others, amateur as well as professional, who have made a significant contribution to horticulture in Canada; to collect and compile information on cultivar breeding and selection and introductions of Canadian origin; to collect information on similar collections held by other institutions and individuals.

1985 sees this publication of the Journal of CCHHS. It is called Canadian Horticultural History; an interdisciplinary journal. The word horticulture is used advisedly, not to exclude but to include that which 'gardening' might appear to avoid. Thus the documented rise of a commercial plant growing operation long before its products grace a garden are perfectly valid grist to the mill. The contents of the inaugural issue of Canadian Horticultural History indicate this approach with papers on 19th century botanical collectors in Upper and Lower Canada and on some early Ontario nurserymen.

It is intended that each volume will contain four issues: the editor (and Curator of CCHHS) will welcome original contributions, book reviews and notices of meetings and activities.

Allen Paterson,
Director
Royal Botanical Gardens

INTRODUCTION: HISTOIRE DE L'HORTICULTURE AU CANADA

Il y a peu de temps que l'histoire des jardins est devenue une discipline à proprement parler. Les études se sont approfondies, les techniques sont devenues plus élaborées et les spécialistes plus exigeants. Ils ont adapté à leurs travaux les méthodes mises à l'épreuve dans d'autres disciplines plus anciennes.

Il existe dans chaque pays une histoire des jardins, dont l'évolution est aussi symbolique d'une culture que l'histoire de ses rois et ses chefs politiques. Ce n'est que maintenant que l'on commence à répertorier soigneusement l'histoire des jardins au Canada. Malgré leur apparente simplicité, les premiers jardins reflètent une grande diversité de cultures. Depuis le XVI^{e} siècle, la colonisation européenne n'a cessé de s'étendre vers l'ouest, tandis que les Loyalistes fuyant les États-Unis se sont regroupés dans le sud-est. Comme c'est le cas des cultures plus anciennes, ce n'est généralement qu'en se rendant sur place et en fouillant les archives que l'on peut procéder aux recherches. On parvient toutefois à recueillir aussi des renseignements sur les influences originales qui ont été transmis oralement de génération en génération jusqu'à nos jours.

En 1979, s'est donc créé, à la bibliothèque des Royal Botanical Gardens, le Centre for Canadian Historical Horticultural Studies, grâce à une donation de la fondation Dunington Grubb.

Le Centre fera en quelque sorte office de musée national, dans lequel on rassemblera la littérature, les documents et les objects concernant l'histoire de l'horticulture au Canada; il recueillera des renseignements biographiques sur les horticulteurs, les pépiniéristes, jardiniers paysagistes et autres, amateurs aussi bien que professionnels, qui ont largement contribué au développement de l'horticulture au Canada; il recueillera des renseignements sur l'introduction de variétés d'origine canadienne obtenues par croisements et sélection; et enfin, il recueillera des renseignements sur les collections se trouvant dans d'autres établissements ou chez des particuliers.

1985 assiste à la naissance de la revue du CCHHS, Histoire de l'horticulture au Canada. Il s'agit d'une revue interdisciplinaire, et c'est à bon escient que l'on emploie le terme horticulture, qui recouvre plus de choses que le terme "jardinage". Ainsi, avant de venir orner un jardin, une plante commerciale a toute une histoire, et cette histoire constitue une information des plus intéressantes. On trouvera dans le premier numéro de l'Histoire de l'horticulture au Canada des études sur les botanistes herborisateurs de XIX^{e} siècle dans le Haut et le Bas-Canada et sur les premiers pépiniéristes de l'Ontario.

Il est prévu que chaque volume comportera quatre numéros: la rédactrice en chef (et curatrice du CCHHS) accueillera avec plaisir tout article original, critique de livres et avis de réunions et autres activités.

Allen Paterson
Directeur
Royal Botanical Gardens

Canadian Horticultural History
Histoire de l'horticulture au Canada
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ANNE MARY PERCEVAL (1790-1876), AN EARLY BOTANICAL COLLECTOR IN LOWER CANADA[1]

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Abstract

Anne Mary Perceval (1790-1876) was the daughter of Sir Charles Flower, Bt., Lord Mayor of London. She came to Quebec in 1810 when her husband was appointed H.M. Collector of Customs. The Percevals acquired a large estate with extensive woodlands in nearby Sillery, part of which is now the Bois de Coulonge. Mrs. Perceval, along with William and Harriet Sheppard, was probably recruited as a collector for Hooker's *Flora* by the Countess of Dalhousie. Her collecting sites included Sillery, Ste.-Foy, and Cap Rouge; recipients of specimens, besides Hooker, included Darlington, Torrey, and Schweinitz. She returned to Britain in 1829, and spent her latter years on the Isle of Lewis.

Abstract

Anne Mary Perceval (1790-1876) était la fille de Sir Charles Flower: lord-maire de Londres. Elle vint au Québec en 1810 lorsque son mari y fut nommé contrôleur des douanes de Sa Majesté. Les Perceval achetèrent, à Sillery, un grand domaine avec de vastes étendues boisées, dont une partie constitue maintenant le Bois de Coulonge. On pense que ce fut la comtesse de Dalhousie qui demanda à madame Perceval, ainsi qu'à William et Harriet Sheppard, d'herboriser pour la *Flore* de Hooker. Elle choisit comme lieu de prédilection Sillery, Sainte-Foy et Cap-Rouge. Elle herborisa aussi pour le compte de Darlington, Torrey et Schweinitz. Elle retourne en Angleterre en 1829 et passa les dernières années de sa vie à l'île Lewis.

The standard reference on the flora of Canada (as presently bounded), from the time of its completion in 1840 until the appearance of Macoun's *Catalogue of Canadian Plants* 43 years later, was Sir William Jackson Hooker's (1829-1840) *Flora Boreali-Americana*. Since Hooker himself did not visit British North America, those who collected plants for him are important in the history of Canadian floristics even though they were not authors of major botanical works. Nevertheless, basic biographical data on some of these persons remain conspicuously deficient in the literature of botanical history. In this paper, biographical data are presented on "Mrs. Perceval," who was cited as a collector of ca. 150 species in Hooker's *Flora Boreali-Americana*, and eight times in Torrey & Gray's (1838-1843) *A Flora of North America*.

Anne Mary Flower, later Mrs. Perceval, was born 14 January 1790, in England, probably in or near London. She was the eldest of the eight children of Charles Flower (Sir Charles Flower of Lobb, County Oxford, and Woodford, County Essex, 1st Baronet, after 8 December 1809) and Anne Flower, née Squire (Collen, 1840). The family was wealthy, as indicated by Miss Flower's dowry of £40,000, and her later inheritance of £100,000. In 1809, Charles Flower became Lord Mayor of London, and Anne Flower, as his eldest daughter, thereby became Lady Mayoress, her mother having died in 1803.

On 6 August 1810 (Annual Register 52:413. 1812), Anne Flower married Michael Henry Perceval, a member of the family of the Earls of Egmont and

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[1]Contribution No. 54 from the Royal Botanical Gardens, Hamilton, Ontario

Prime Minister Spencer Perceval.[2] Mr. Perceval was appointed His Majesty's Collector of Customs for Québec, which post brought him about £8000 per annum in fees. He was also appointed to the powerful Executive and Legislative Councils of Lower Canada. During the War of 1812-1814, Perceval served as provincial aide-de-camp to Governor Sir George Prévost. In 1813, he was appointed magistrate, with jurisdiction throughout Lower Canada, and in 1826, he was named Superintendent of the Port of Québec. In 1815, the Percevals acquired Powell Place, a magnificent estate in Sillery, just west of Québec City, built in 1780 by General Henry Watson Powell and subsequently the residence of Sir James Craig, Governor of Lower and Upper Canada. This estate was renamed Spencer Wood.

Spencer Wood comprised over 40 ha, including extensive wooded tracts ideal for botanizing. Adam Kidd, a Québec poet, wrote of this estate in 1830: "This is one of the most beautiful spots in Lower Canada, and the property of the late Hon. Michael Henry Perceval, who resided there with his accomplished family, whose highly cultivated minds rendered my visits to Spencer Wood doubly interesting. The grounds and grand walks are tastefully laid out, interspersed with great variety of trees, planted by the hand of nature. The scenery is altogether magnificent, and particularly toward the east, where the great precipices overhang Wolfe's Cove."

In a tribute to Mrs. Perceval's memory, Mrs. Peter Sheppard[3] wrote: "She was eminently fitted to grace Spencer Wood -- her beauty, her refined and cordial manners made her receptions eminently attractive. Her education was perfect, she was mistress of four languages, English, French, Italian and Latin, which studies she took great trouble in keeping up and which she herself taught to her children, ten in number, besides teaching them the piano, the harp and drawing."

Among the many distinguished visitors at Spencer Wood were Christian Brown Ramsay,[4] Countess of Dalhousie, whose husband, the 9th Earl, had been named Governor-in-Chief of the British North American provinces in 1819; and Harriet Campbell Sheppard, wife of William Sheppard, another member of the Executive and Legislative Councils. Lady Dalhousie and Mrs. Sheppard, who came to Spencer Wood on "botanizing expeditions," were cited many times in the *Flora Boreali-Americana* as contributors of Canadian specimens. Lady Dalhousie was a notable recruiter for the causes of botany and of Sir William's *Flora*, as attested to by Mr. Sheppard (1864): "She succeeded in imbuing her lady friends with a love of botany; some of whom made marked advances in

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[2]The spelling "Perceval" appears invariably in all of the biographical references cited in the present paper. Hooker's attention evidently was drawn to this orthography in 1839; he used "Perceval" consistently after this date, in contrast to "Percival" in those parts of his *Flora* published earlier and in his herbarium.

[3]Sister-in-law of William Sheppard, whose association with the Percevals and contributions to Québec floristics are noted below.

[4]Lady Dalhousie's first name is given as "Christina" in some botanical references, but consistently appears as "Christian" in her biography by Nelmes & Cuthbertson (1932), compiled from information provided by members of the family; in the personal *Reminiscences* of her long-time friend Edward Bannerman Ramsay, Dean of Edinburgh (1928); and in Burke's, Cokayne's, and Debrett's peerages. The spelling "Broun," found in a number of references, was, according to Nelmes & Cuthbertson, not adopted by Lady Dalhousie's family until later generations.

this branch of natural history," particularly, he noted, Mrs. Sheppard. Mrs. Sheppard subsequently made remarkable achievements in natural history, e.g., as the author of the earliest publication on the shells of Québec, indicating considerable knowledge of the vocabulary and literature of conchology (LaRocque, 1935). It was probably Lady Dalhousie and Mrs. Sheppard who interested Mrs. Perceval in collecting botanical specimens.

Adjacent to Spencer Wood on the west was Woodfield, which in 1816 was purchased by the Percevals' friend William Sheppard. This property comprised "a magnificent villa surrounded by 100 acres of parkland and orchards." The amenities installed by Sheppard included a gallery of paintings, a small natural-history museum, and a library of ca. 3000 volumes. Thus Sillery's botanical community probably had the best resources available for identifying plant specimens and for other aspects of botanical study. Outside, there were gardens, greenhouses, and aviaries (Savard, 1976).

In 1828, Mrs. Perceval and the children left Québec to spend a year in Florence, Italy, expecting to return. Mr. Perceval, having obtained sick leave, planned to join them in the autumn of 1829, but died at sea en route, and the family never resumed residence at Spencer Wood.

Of the Percevals' ten children, the best known was the eldest, Major-General Spencer Perceval of the Coldstream Guards. The fourth of the five daughters, Mary Jane, married Sir James Matheson, 1st Baronet, who, as a partner in Jardine, Matheson & Co., had amassed a fortune in the tea trade; his purchase of the Isle of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides in 1844, and later of Harris, made him the second-largest landed proprietor in the United Kingdom (Boase, 1897). It was at Lewis Castle, Stornoway, Isle of Lewis, Scotland, the home of her son-in-law, that Anne Perceval died 23 November 1876, in her 87th year.

Spencer Wood was sold in 1833 to Henry Atkinson, a Québec merchant and president of the Horticultural Society of Québec. The estate remained attractive to horticulturists and to naturalists, and Atkinson hosted John James Audubon there in 1842. In 1849, he divided the property into two parts, with the principal residence and over half the land being sold to become the official residence of the Governor of the Province of Canada and, after Confederation, the Lieutenant Governor of Québec. The original house was destroyed by fire in 1860, and was replaced by a house on the same site that served as a gubernatorial residence until 1966. Atkinson retained a smaller residence and the remainder of the property, which he named Spencer Grange. He developed this estate as a horticultural showplace, adding conservatories, an orchid house, vineries, and a pinery, under the direction of the head gardener, Peter Lowe, who subsequently became an eminent landscape gardener in Montréal. Later, Spencer Grange became the residence of Atkinson's son-in-law, Sir James McPherson LeMoine, who, as an amateur naturalist and the author of several works on the birds of Canada, likewise appreciated its wooded expanses. The grounds of Spencer Grange have since been divided into residential lots, but the larger portion of the original Spencer Wood remains as parkland, now called the Bois de Coulonge (from recent maps and J.-P. Bernard, in ms., 1983). (Except where other sources are cited biographical information on the Perceval family and historical information on Spencer Wood and Woodfield, including the quotations from Kidd and Mrs. P. Sheppard, are from LeMoine, 1882. Some information on M.H. Perceval is from F.J. Audet, in ms. "Les législateurs du Bas-Canada," sent by J. P. Bernard, 1983.)

The records attributed to Mrs. Perceval by Hooker indicate that she attempted to collect specimens of as many plant species as possible by traveling to diverse habitats. While some of the species she collected were doubtless more common in the vicinity of Sillery in the 1820s than now, species characteristic of restricted habitats, such as the orchids *Platanthera blephariglottis* (Willd.) Lindl. and *Arethusa bulbosa* L., must then as now have been rare in that area. Among the species chosen for citation by Torrey & Gray (1838-1843) were several naturalized species then not widely established in North America, e.g. *Silene vulgaris* (Moench) Garcke (as *S. inflata* Smith) and *Descurainia sophia* (L.) P.B. Webb ex Prantl (as *Sisymbrium sophia* L.).

An album of herbarium specimens presented by Mrs. Perceval to Dr. William Darlington, physician and botanical author at West Chester, Pennsylvania, has been preserved at the herbarium of West Chester University (DWC). This album, 9 X 7½ inches, was bound at Québec by T. Cary, Jun., & Co., and was presented to Darlington in 1826. This presentation, doubtless made at the suggestion of Hooker, occurred relatively early in Darlington's botanical career, as his first major botanical work, the *Florula Cestrica*, was published in October 1826. The 182 specimens in this album were collected mostly by Mrs. Perceval, but include some collected by Lady Dalhousie, mostly from Sorel,[5] and a few collected by William Sheppard. Most of the first hundred or so specimens are accompanied by dates, all in 1823, and locality data, providing a valuable supplement to Hooker's *Flora Boreali-Americana* in indicating Mrs. Perceval's collecting sites. Most of her collecting was done on the grounds of Spencer Wood and Woodfield, and at Marchmont, the estate of Sir John Harvey, who had commanded the victorious British forces at the Battle of Stoney Creek in 1814. Although these estates were situated atop the high, steep banks of the St. Lawrence, Woodfield was the source of some bog species, e.g. *Andromeda glaucophylla* Link and *Chamaedaphne calyculata* (L.) Moench (then known as *Andromeda polifolia* L. and *A. calyculata* L., respectively). Other wetland species were obtained from swamps at Ste.-Foy. Another collecting site was the road to Cap Rouge, west of Sillery, on which were located the estates of Henry Atkinson, prior to his purchase of Spencer Wood, and Hon. John Neilson, "the Nestor of the Canadian press." (Cap Rouge, which attracted Mrs. Perceval for botanizing, evidently engendered an interest in natural history in Neilson's son John, Jr., later known as an author of popular works on Canadian birds.) Hooker's (1829-1840) notes on the distribution of *Tiarella cordifolia* L. and *Amphicarpaea bracteata* (L.) Fern. (as *A. monoica* (L.) Ell.) indicate that Mrs. Perceval made a trip or trips to Montréal and an unspecified locality in Upper Canada (probably Kingston or York [Toronto]) on which she collected plants.

Mrs. Perceval's own small herbarium was discovered at the Central Experimental Farm in Ottawa some time in the twentieth century, and is now incorporated into the herbarium of the Biosystematics Research Institute (DAO). These specimens bear the locality data Sillery, Spencer Wood, Ste.-Foy, and Cap Rouge (Bernard, in ms., 1983). Boivin (1980) concluded that this collection, dated 1820, was apparently the oldest series of Canadian plant specimens extant in Canada. Little is certain about the history of these specimens. They were remounted years ago on standard herbarium sheets, with new labels, and

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[5]Sorel, ca. 175 km upriver from Québec City, was the home town of Eliza Cleghorn (née Power), wife of Robert Cleghorn, proprietor of Blink Bonny Nursery in Montréal, who provided a home for Frederick Pursh during the latter's last illness and who himself collected at least 74 specimens for Hooker. The Cleghorns were friends of Lord and Lady Dalhousie, who regularly visited Blink Bonny when they came to Montréal.

the original format, handwriting, etc. are unknown. Mr. William J. Cody (in epist. 1981, 1983), curator at DAO, believes that this herbarium was probably among specimens stored in the attic of an old header-house until they were found by Harold A. Senn ca. 1938. (Dr. Senn is uncertain as to the history of these specimens.) How this herbarium arrived at the Central Experimental Farm is even more in doubt. It has been suggested that William Sheppard might have been involved, perhaps having come into possession of the specimens after Mrs. Perceval returned to England. This possibility seems unlikely, however, because, according to McCord (1864), Sheppard's collections were destroyed by fire prior to 1864 -- presumably in the fire that destroyed Woodfield in 1842 (see Savard, 1976). Also, considering Sheppard's life span (1784-1867), it is difficult to imagine a sequence of ownership by which specimens in his or Mrs. Sheppard's possession would have come to DAO. (Had any such specimens existed at the time of Mr. or Mrs. Sheppard's death, the most likely recipient would have been one of the herbaria in the province of Québec now amalgamated at MTMG.) J.M. LeMoine seems to be a more likely intermediary. Since Mrs. Perceval did not know, when she left Spencer Wood in 1828, that she would not return, the herbarium was probably among the contents of the house when it was purchased by LeMoine's father-in-law. By the time LeMoine died in 1912, the position of Dominion Botanist had been established for some time and there was a significant herbarium under his jurisdiction, a logical place either for LeMoine, in his later years, or for the executors of his estate, to send such a collection.

About 100 specimens collected by Mrs. Perceval are in the herbarium of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia (PH). These are from the herbarium of Lewis David von Schweinitz.[6] Mrs. Perceval's name (spelled "Percival") appears as no. 66 in Schweinitz's manuscript list of "Contributores" of specimens.[7] The format indicates, although inconclusively, that Schweinitz, like his friend Darlington, received specimens directly from Mrs. Perceval, as does the quantity of specimens.

At least one specimen, and presumably others, collected by Mrs. Perceval are now in the herbarium of the New York Botanical Garden (NY), ex herb. Columbia College. The one noted in this study, *Nuphar microphyllum* (Pers.) Fern. from "near Québec," is mounted on the same sheet as a specimen from the St. John River, New Brunswick, collected by George Upham Hay in 1885 and bearing the printed label "Ex herb. Geol. & Nat. Hist. Survey of Canada" (P.K. Holmgren, in epist., 1983). The history of this Perceval specimen is not known at NY. It is unlikely that John Macoun (curator at the Geological and Natural History Survey in 1885) had such specimens available for distribution; the collection was not cited in his *Catalogue*. Probably Mrs. Perceval had sent specimens to John Torrey (a friend and correspondent of Hooker, Darlington, and Schweinitz) or some other United States botanist of the time whose specimens were later acquired by Columbia College. It is also possible, although unlikely

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[6]Previously, some of these specimens were believed to have come from the herbarium of Aylmer Bourke Lambert, but this is now believed to be incorrect, according to Dr.James A. Mears (pers. comm., 1983). Dr. Mears also provided the estimate of the number of specimens.

[7]This list is now at the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. The list of 108 "Contributores" is to be distinguished from the better-known list of 93 "Botanical Correspondents," in which Mrs. Perceval's name does not appear.

in view of the size and lack of duplication among the specimens sent to Darlington, that Torrey received this specimen from one of the botanists to whom Mrs. Perceval is known to have sent specimens. If the *Nuphar* specimen had been taken from an album after the specimens had come to Columbia, this might account for its having been mounted with the Hay collection, and also for the absence of the usual "Torrey Herbarium" stamp seen on mounting sheets from Torrey's own herbarium.

In addition to having sent specimens, Mrs. Perceval was acknowledged by Hooker (1829-1840, p. 168) for having made available to him a manuscript on the plants of "La Grande Chaudière" by Frederick Pursh. This locality was evidently Chaudière Falls on the Ottawa River, between present-day Ottawa and Hull, rather than the Riviere Chaudière, which enters the St. Lawrence opposite Québec City. Sheppard (1831-1832) indicated not only that the vicinity of these falls was of botanical interest among Pursh's contemporaries, but also that Pursh had botanized along the Ottawa River.[8] Pursh presumably explored this area at some time during the years 1816-1819. A number of reports in Hooker's *Flora* were based on this manuscript, the subsequent disposition of which is unknown.

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[8]Sheppard also indicated that he had had access to a manuscript by Pursh, listing plants of the Ottawa Valley, during the preparation of his 1831-1832 paper. This may have been the manuscript seen by Hooker, before it was sent to the latter. However, some of the species attributed by Sheppard to the Ottawa Valley "on the authority of Pursh," namely *Allium tricoccum* Ait., *Iris sibirica* L., and *Quercus coccinea* Münchh. (the last two doubtless misidentifications), do not appear in Hooker's *Flora*, indicating either that a different manuscript existed or that Hooker rejected some of Pursh's reports.

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Gentiana andrewsii, a species described by Grisebach based on specimens collected in Canada by C.C. Todd and Robert Cleghorn.

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CLEMENT CHARLES TODD (d.1828), AN EARLY NATURALIST AND BOTANICAL COLLECTOR IN UPPER CANADA[1]

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Abstract

Clement Charles Todd (d. 1828), a naval surgeon, served at Kingston and in the Battle of Lake Champlain before being sent to Penetanguishene in 1819. He was already knowledgeable in botany when he was invited to collect plants for Hooker by John Richardson in 1825, when the 2nd Franklin Expedition passed through Penetanguishene. Todd collected on the Penetanguishene Peninsula and along the Severn River from 1825-1827. His paper on the climate of Penetanguishene includes the first publication of phenological observations in Upper Canada. He returned to London for further study in 1827, and died there while awaiting duty on H.W. Bayfield's *Gulnare* expedition.

Abstract

Clement Charles Todd était chirurgien dans la marine. Il a servi à Kingston et pendant la bataille du lac Champlain avant d'être envoyé à Penetanguishene en 1819. C'est sans doute en raison de ses connaissances en botanique que John Richardson lui proposa d'herboriser pour le compte de Hooker, en 1825, alors que la deuxième expédition de Franklin passait à Penetanguishene. Todd récolta ses plantes dans le péninsule de Penetanguishene et le long de la rivière Severn entre 1825 et 1827. On trouve dans son article sur le climat de Penetanguishene les premiéres observations de phénologie du Haut-Canada. In 1827, il retourna à Londres pour approfondir ses recherches. Au moment de son décès, il s'apprêtait à participer sur le *Gulnare* à expédition de H.W. Bayfield.

For the preparation of his *Flora Boreali-Americana* (Hooker, 1829-1840), Sir William Jackson Hooker had three major sources of botanical specimens from Upper Canada: John Goldie, who collected at several localities on Lake Ontario, and also south of Lake Simcoe; James Macnab, who, with Robert Brown, travelled from Niagara Falls to Goderich (specimens received by Hooker in time for citation in parts 8-12 of the *Flora*): and C.C. Todd, the subject of the present paper. Small numbers of specimens from Upper Canada were collected by David Douglas near Amherstburg and at several other localities; by Anne Mary Flower Perceval, on a visit to an unspecified locality; by Lewis Caleb Beck and Benjamin Daniel Greene at Niagara Falls; and by John Richardson and Thomas Drummond, as noted below. Biographical data on these collectors, except for Todd and Mrs. Perceval, can readily be located in the standard references on botanical biography compiled by Barnhart, Desmond, and Stafleu & Cowan. Nevertheless, although Todd contributed the largest number of specimens from Upper Canada cited by Hooker, very little about him appears in the literature of botanical history.

Hooker's usual citation of Todd's collections was "Lake Huron. *Dr. Todd.*" Under *Silene armeria* L., however, Hooker referred to "the plants gathered at Pentanguishene [sic], on Lake Huron, by *Dr. Todd.*" Considering the history of Penetanguishene, it seemed highly probable that the presence of a medical practitioner there prior to 1829 would have been in connection with the Naval or Military establishments. Accordingly, biographical information on Todd was sought in publications and records dealing with the naval history of Canada.

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[1]Contribution No. 55 from the Royal Botanical Gardens, Hamilton, Ontario.

Fig. 1. Map showing the area in which C.C. Todd collected plants and localities mentioned in the text.

Information on Todd's years at Penetanguishene was found primarily in the library of Huronia Historical Parks, Midland, Ontario. Historians on contract have searched for pertinent material in the Public Records Office, Kew[2] (cited in

[2]Although at Kew, the Public Records Office is not part of the Royal Botanic Gardens. It is a separate institution on the opposite side of the British Rail/London Transport tracks, and is a valuable source of data on persons connected with the Royal Navy.

this paper as P.R.O.); the Public Archives of Canada (P.A.C.); the Scott Polar Research Foundation, Cambridge, U.K.; and elsewhere, and have assembled copies of such material at Midland. Unfortunately, the individual researchers cannot be acknowledged here, as their respective contributions were not recorded at Midland.

No information on Todd's early life has been found in this study. He evidently acquired his surgical training through apprenticeship, which was still a common practice in the early 1800s, rather than at a university, as indicated by Franklin's (1828) use of "C.C. Todd, Esq.," as contrasted with "John Richardson, M.D." in the same work. According to the records of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, "Clement Charles Todd first appeared before the Court of Examiners on 7th May 1813 when he passed the examination for naval assistant and paid the fee of £2.2.0" (E.H. Cornelius, in epist., 29 March 1983, in archives of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Hamilton).

Todd entered the service of the Royal Navy on 11 March 1814 (P.R.O. Adm. 104/20), as Hospital Mate, and was sent to the Naval Hospital at Kingston, Upper Canada. In September 1814, he was Assistant Surgeon aboard H.M.S. *Confiance*, under Capt. George Downie, on Lake Champlain. *Confiance* was the newly constructed flagship of a fleet sent – without adequate preparation, according to the subsequent consensus – to engage the U.S. Navy off Plattsburg. The Battle of Lake Champlain saw tremendous carnage on both sides, and *Confiance* was increasingly incapacitated as the battle went on. The wounded, below deck, repeatedly had to be moved lest they drown as the list of the ship increased and she took on more water. Todd himself was wounded by a splinter (Lieut. James Robertson, in epist. to Capt. Daniel Pring, 15 September 1814, quoted in Wood, 1926), and a woman (not named by Robertson) was killed while attending to his injury. Robertson, who took command of *Confiance* after Downie's death, commended Todd for his heroic attention to the wounded seamen during this battle (ibid. and in epist. to Pring, 12 September 1814, both quoted in Wood, 1926).[3]

By 2 October 1814, with the negotiations at Ghent approaching their conclusion, Todd was again serving at the Naval Hospital in Kingston. He remained there until the hospital was closed in June 1817. Then he was assigned to the Naval Establishment at the Grand River, an observation post on Lake Erie at the present site of Port Maitland. (P.R.O. Adm. 104/1 and 104/20; P.A.C. R.G. 8, Series III, Vol. 22.)

On 1 March 1819, Todd went to the Naval Establishment at Penetanguishene. This Establishment had only been in existence about a year, having replaced an earlier installation at the mouth of the Nottawasaga River, more conveniently reached from York (capital of Upper Canada, now Toronto) but with an inadequate harbour. Here, Todd continued to hold the rank of Assistant Surgeon but was, in fact, the only medical officer at the Naval Establishment. His performance in this demanding role earned him a commendation from the commanding officer, Capt. Samuel Roberts (in epist. to John Wilson Croker, First Secretary to the Admiralty, 17 December 1822, P.A.C. Adm. 1/2431):

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[3] A popular account of the Battle of Lake Champlain has recently been published by Berton (1981, pp. 388-399), based largely on the documents quoted by Wood (1926). The woman mentioned by Robertson may have been the wife of the flagship's steward, noted by Berton from another source.

> His uniform good conduct during the time that he served under my orders on Lake Huron and his studied attention to those that came under his medical care deserves from me the highest praise.

Todd remained at Penetanguishene for nine years. Already being interested in diverse aspects of the natural sciences, he compiled records on climatic phenomena, on the dates of flowering of some of the native plant species, on the dates of maturity of the vegetable crops, on the spawning of fishes, and on other seasonal phenomena. Todd (1828) eventually published a paper summarizing these observations; this is probably the earliest paper to record phenological observations from Upper Canada.

Todd had already begun his botanical collecting prior to the events of April 1825 noted below. His interest in botany is evident from the phenological observations in his paper cited above, and the scientific names used therein indicate that he had a copy of Frederick Pursh's (1813) *Flora Americae Septentrionalis* for plant identification. An additional stimulus to collect herbarium specimens came when his nephew, the son of William Todd of London, required specimens for his botanical studies in school, and C.C. Todd was asked to provide some specimens from Upper Canada. (See letters to Hooker from Richardson, C.C. Todd, and W. Todd, quoted below.)

In 1825, the officers of the Second Land Expedition to the Polar Sea, under Capt. (later Adm. Sir) John Franklin, visited Penetanguishene. They had come from York via Yonge Street to Lake Simcoe, thence from the head of Kempenfelt Bay across the Nine-mile Portage to Willow Creek, and by boat down the Nottawasaga River and around the peninsula to Penetanguishene. Besides Franklin, this party included four men notable in the history of Canadian floristics. The surgeon-naturalist, (later Sir) John Richardson, M.D., had accompanied Franklin on his previous expedition and had written the botanical and zoological appendices to the published record of that expedition. Richardson was later to write the greater part of the *Fauna Boreali-Americana*, the zoological report of the second expedition, and would lead his own expeditions to the Arctic with great benefit to the sciences. Accompanying Richardson for part of the expedition as assistant naturalist was Thomas Drummond. Drummond was then beginning his career as one of the most important early plant collectors in the interior of western British North America and later in Texas. Another officer was Lieut. (later Capt. Sir) George Back, who collected specimens from the Arctic shore on this expedition, and who later led expeditions of his own. Also present was Edward Nicholas Kendall (later Lieut.), who made most of the astronomical observations necessary for orientation and mapping. Kendall later became the primary collector of New Brunswick specimens for Hooker, before leaving the Royal Navy to become an officer of a British trading company in India. These men remained at Penetanguishene from 15 April to 23 April 1825, when ice conditions permitted their travel northward by canoe.

By this time, and in all probability before being assigned to this remote outpost, Todd had married, as indicated by Franklin. The latter wrote to Mrs. Franklin (22 April 1825, letter now at Scott Polar Research Foundation) that "there are a Lieut of the Army with his wife and a surgeon & his wife stationed here, these form a social party and cause the time to pass very pleasantly." Likewise, in his journal of the expedition (Scott Polar Research Foundation

MS 248/280/1-2), Franklin acknowledged "the obliging attentions of Lieut Coltman of the 76th regt., and of Mr Todd the Assistant Surgeon, and of the Ladies of these Gentlemen." There were evidently no children, as the occupants of the Assistant Surgeon's house are stated to be Todd, his wife, and a servant (Anonymous, 1981).

Franklin's journal also provides a description of Penetanguishene in 1825: "The dwelling houses of the officers, though small, are very comfortable, and so are those of the men; which are built on the declivity of a hill, in parallel ranges, but separate from each other; and the 'tout ensemble' of Penetanguishene, as viewed from the water, is pretty. Whenever the ground is capable of cultivation, a garden has been formed, and these spots yield a sufficiency of vegetables of every kind for the residents, and potatoes in abundance." To Mrs. Franklin (22 April 1825) he wrote: "Each officer as well as the men have their gardens and the former some stock of Poultry & Pigs and a Cow or two, which with the meat supplied by the government enable them to live very well." Todd's house was described (Anonymous, 1981) as "a log building," 24 X 16 feet, "clap boarded and lined, with a shingled roof." This served as living quarters only, as the buildings of the Naval Establishment also included a hospital. A replica of this house has been built at the reconstruction of the Naval Establishment at Penetanguishene.

Richardson recognized the value of his fellow surgeon's diverse scientific observations. Todd agreed to prepare the paper mentioned above, which Richardson included in the appendices to Franklin's narrative, along with a table of climatological data prepared by Todd. In particular, Richardson recognized that Hooker would greatly appreciate botanical specimens from this area collected by a keen and knowledgeable naturalist, as indicated in a letter sent to Hooker from Penetanguishene (Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, Hooker Correspondence, Misc. Letters 1818-30 XLIV:140):

> Mr. Tod [sic] assistant surgeon to a small Naval Establishment here has been collecting some plants. I have urged him to make a more extensive collection this summer and as he intends going to England next spring will furnish him with a letter of introduction to you.

Todd accepted Richardson's suggestion, and began collecting specimens for Hooker in 1825, as indicated in a letter to Hooker the following spring, here quoted in full (R.B.G., Kew, Hooker Correspondence, Misc. Letters 1818-30 XLIV:171):

Naval Depot
Penetangueshene [sic]
Lake Huron, Upper
Canada, April 27th, 1826.

Sir:

In April 1825, I had the honor of seeing, Dr. Richardson at this place, who hearing that it was my intention to return to England in a short time, very politely furnished me with a Letter of Introduction to you, and also informed me that you would be pleased to receive any specimens of Plants I might collect -- having been much disappointed in my intended visit to England, I seize the first opportunity of forwarding herewith, some seeds of native plants, collected during the Season of

1825, together with a List of dried specimens which it is my intention to send you, whenever a convenient & safe opportunity may present.

Sir

I have the honor to be

Sir

your most obedient

humble servant

(signed) C.C. Todd Ass[t] Surgeon. R.N.

Since Todd's plans to return to England in 1826 did not materialize, he continued to collect plants in the Penetanguishene area in that year. On 6 June 1827, he did leave Penetanguishene, having been succeeded by James McNicoll (commemorated in the town name Port McNicoll). Upon his return to England, Todd sent a shipment of botanical specimens, which he had collected in 1825, 1826, and 1827, to Hooker. A subsequent letter (R.B.G., Kew, Hooker Correspondence, Misc. Letters 1818-30 XLIV:172 provides further details on Todd's collecting:[4]

11 Nelson Terrace
City Road, London
December 30th 1827.

Sir:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the communication you did me the honor to make, and am much gratified to hear, you deem my small collection of Plants worthy your notice.

I had two years since, separated a few species of each genus, which it was my Intention to have forwarded to you on the first favourable opportunity: the Papers containing them were marked with your name. After I had the pleasure of an Interview with Dr. Richardson I learned that it was of importance you should have the whole collection, therefore without altering the previous arrangement of the species or running the risk of exposing them to the damp Atmosphere of this Metropolis, I took the liberty of forwarding them to you, in the order in which I had previously arranged and transported them.

As the whole collection is entirely at your disposal, I beg you will not hesitate to make the use of them you may please. I shall however, deem it a favor if you will condescend to return me two specimens of each, when convenient to yourself.

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[4] "Top" in paragraph 5 and "Detail" in paragraph 6 are uncertain, the former because of the handwriting, the latter because of damage to the paper by the sealing wax.

It will be necessary for me to inform you that the specimens in some of the top Papers were collected last season, on my Journey between Penetangueshene and York, Upper Canada. they consist of specimens of Anthemis nobilis,[5] Rubus (quinque lobatis foliis,), Polygala, Vitis, Asclepias &c.--

During my residence at Penetangueshene I kept a Meteorological Journal &c. which is now in the hands of Dr. Richardson. I have there given a List of the Phenogamous Plants, accompanied with a few observations as to soil, medical use &c. I am sorry my superficial acquaintance with Botany, did not admit of my giving a more scientific Detail.

I rest in hope of returning to Canada, next season, should I be so fortunate, it will give me an opportunity of making a larger and more satisfactory collection.

I have the honor to be

Sir

your most obedient

humble servant

(signed) *C.C. Todd*

Member of the Royal College of
Surgeons & Ass^{t} Suregon
Royal Navy

On leave from his responsibilities to the Royal Navy, Todd furthered his surgical studies in London. During this time, he evidently resided at the home of his brother William, 11 Nelson Terrace, as indicated in the letter above. This is a unit of row housing just east of the present site of the Angel underground station, part of a yellow-brick, three-storey, rather plain but not unattractive building. The building was extensively restored in 1982, and presumably has changed little in appearance.

On 28 December 1827, Todd again appeared before the Court of Examiners of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. On this occasion, he passed the examination for the Diploma of Membership of the College and paid the fee of £22.0.0. (E.H. Cornelius, loc. cit.) (Todd's salary at Kingston had been £1 per day.) Shortly thereafter, he was promoted to the rank of Surgeon, R.N.

Todd (see letter of 30 December 1827, above) had hoped to return to Canada as surgeon and naturalist on an expedition to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, then being organized by Capt. (later Adm.) Henry Wolsey Bayfield. Bayfield was one of the most important persons in the history of the charting of the

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[5]Only one specimen of *Anthemis* collected by Todd is at K. It was identified as *A. Cotula* L. and labelled "Lake Huron, Dr. Todd" by Hooker, without further detail.

Great Lakes and the Gulf of St. Lawrence (White, 1913). He had doubtless met Todd on many occasions during his surveys of Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron from 1815 through 1822. That Bayfield not only wanted his ship, H.M.S. *Gulnare*, to have a medical officer, but specifically requested Todd, is indicated in his letter to Croker (25 May 1828, P.A.C. Adm. 1/1576):

Royal Navy

> Surgeon C.C. Todd, whose abilities were well known to Commodore Barrie[6] and myself whilst he served on the Lakes, is peculiarly well qualified for this Service. Independently of his intimate acquaintance with the diseases of the country, from an experience of many years, he is also a good botanist and mineralogist, and the coasts we are ordered to survey will afford an unexplored field for the prosecution of those sciences. Mr. Todd is also a good geometrician and therefore would greatly add to our strength in relation to the Survey.

Bayfield's request for Todd's services was granted, according to Bayfield's letter of 22 November 1828 to John Harris, another officer in the Royal Navy (Harris Papers, Victoria University Library, Toronto). However, according to Bayfield (ibid.), Todd "died suddenly in London after having obtained his promotion." Therefore, it was William Kelly, a naval surgeon brought out of retirement, rather than Todd, who sailed aboard *Gulnare*, did some botanical collecting on the shores of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and met the famous naturalist John James Audubon there (St. John, 1922).

A different account of Todd's death was given by Osborne (1912), who stated that he died at Penetanguishene and was buried on Magazine Island in Penetanguishene Harbour. This account is dismissed as a "tall tale" by Ms. Michelle Quealey, Supervisor, Library Services, Huronia Historical Parks (pers. comm., 1983). It was based on recollections by someone who had lived at Penetanguishene in Todd's time, as told to Osborne, whose paper was published 84 years after Todd's death. Bayfield's letter, in contrast, was contemporary, and his account is in harmony with other information indicating that Todd's service at Penetanguishene had terminated prior to his death, and placing him in London at the time. Bayfield's letters indicate that Todd died between 25 May and 22 November 1828.

Frederick Lennox Ingall (1836), an army officer (commissioned in 1836) stationed at Penetanguishene from 1830 to 1837, has provided a description of the vegetation of the Penetanguishene Peninsula and Lake Simcoe area shortly after Todd's time. Much of the land had remained uncleared, in part because extensive tracts had been held in reserve for military use. Forests consisted largely of oak, maple, beech, and birch, here and there intermixed with poplar. Red pine formed impressive stands on flat, sandy lands. The shoreline included a "fine, hard, sandy beach" at the head of Navy Bay, and "low, long, rocky points" elsewhere. The forests on the east side of Penetanguishene Harbour had been cleared from the Naval Establishment to the summit of the hill above for many years. There were some settlements on the west side, but clearing was less extensive there.

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[6]Commodore Robert Barrie, Acting Commissioner of the Navy at Kingston.

Farther from Penetanguishene, Ingall noted that "wide, sandy, flat beach" along the northeast shore of Nottawasaga Bay, and, inland from this beach, "sand-hills crowned with groves of spruce, birch, and poplar intermixed with a few dwarfish hard-wood trees." The smaller islands (i.e., exclusive of the Christian Islands, Giant's Tomb, and Beausoleil) were described as "generally low, being the primitive rock covered with a light sand, thickly wooded, producing quantities of cherries, plums [elsewhere identified by Ingall as *Prunus virginiana* L.], gooseberries, currants, and raspberries, and abundance of beautiful flowering shrubs and plants."

Species noted by Ingall as being especially frequent in the area included "*Lilium canadense*" (presumably *L. philadelphicum* L.[7]), *Monotropa uniflora* L., and *Lobelia cardinalis* L. Both Todd (as recorded by Hooker, 1829-1841) and Ingall commented upon the abundance of a species of *Physalis* (called *P. viscosa* [L.] by Ingall and *P. pensylvanica* L. by Hooker; = *P. heterophylla* Nees), called " Ground Plum" by the local residents, who made "an excellent preserve" from its fruit.

Taxa of restricted distribution indicate the extent of Todd's efforts to collect a large number of species through the exploration of diverse habitats.[8] These include species of the deciduous forests, such as *Galearis spectabilis* (L.) Raf. (*Orchis spectabilis* L.)[9] *Osmorhiza longistylis* (Torr.) DC., and remarkably, *Podophyllum peltatum* L., of which only one small population is now known on the Penetanguishene Peninsula; species characteristic of wet spruce woods, such as *Listera convallarioides* (Swartz) Nutt. ex Elliott and *Mitella nuda* L.; and some species probably from the pine woods noted by Ingall, such as *Goodyera pubescens* (Willd.) R.Br. and *Chimaphila umbellata* (L.) Barton. Outwash plains, kames, and beaches from former lake levels provide extensive sandy habitats in the area and support relatively open woods, whence probably came such species as *Silene antirrhina* L., *Polygala polygama* Walter, *Dalibarda repens* L. (the latter two rare this far west), and *Phytolacca americana* L. (*P. decandra* L.) (locally common, but disjunct this far north). Boggy habitats were represented by *Vaccinium oxycoccus* L., *V. macrocarpon* Aiton, and *Andromeda glaucophylla* Link (*A. polifolia* L.), perhaps collected near the Georgian Bay shore at Penetanguishene, where they still occur.

The dune-panne complexes along some of the shores were evidently favoured sites for rarities, with Todd's collections including many of the characteristic species, e.g. *Parnassia glauca* Raf. (*P. caroliniana* Michx.), *Primula mistassinica* Michx. (*P. hornemanniana* Lehm.), *Satureja arkansana* (Nutt.) Briq. (*Micromeria glabella* (Michx.) Benth.), *Agalinis paupercula* (A. Gray) Britton (*Gerardia purpurea* (L.), and *Lobelia kalmii* L. from the wet depressions;

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[7]On taxonomic grounds, one might assume this reference was to *L. michiganense* Farw. It is *L. philadelphicum*, however, that to this day is notably frequent along the sandy and cobbly shores of the Penetanguishene Peninsula. *Lilium michiganense* is very rare that far north, and is unknown from the immediate vicinity of Penetanguishene. These species are confused surprisingly often, in view of their different aspects.

[8]Comments on the frequency and distribution of species in the vicinity of Penetanguishene are based largely on information graciously supplied by Dr. Anton A. Reznicek (in epist., 1983).

[9]Currently accepted names are used here, with the names used by Hooker, if different, in parentheses.

Linum medium (Planch.) Britton (*L. virginianum* L.), *Hypericum kalmianum* L., *Artemisia caudata* Michx. (*A. desertorum* Spreng. δ *Hookeriana* Besser ex Hook.) from higher sites in the younger dunes; and the locally rare *Halenia deflexa* (J.E. Smith) Griseb. perhaps from the older dunes colonized by cedars. Several of these collections constituted the first records from Upper Canada. The beach near the mouth of the Nottawasaga River was almost certainly the source of a disjunct grass, *Andropogon gerardii* Vitman (*A. furcatus* Muhl. ex Willd.), and quite likely of the locally rare species *Panicum virgatum* L. and *Ceanothus herbaceus* Raf. (*C. intermedius* Pursh) as well.

Todd's collection also included a number of acid-soil species, e.g. *Oxalis montana* Raf. (*O. acetosella* L.) and *Panax trifolius* L., that are relatively common north of the North River, where soils are derived from the granitic rocks of the Canadian Shield, but are uncommon or rare southward. Two in particular, *Hypericum ellipticum* Hook and *Viola lanceolata* L., strongly suggest that Todd travelled to granitic localities, perhaps to the Severn River (an important canoe route), as these species are unknown nearer Penetanguishene.[10] Reznicek (in epist., 1983) has concluded, however, that Todd probably "never entered the deep cedar swamps or quaking bogs to any extent." He noted that although Todd "found just about every orchid in the deciduous forests and calcareous shores of the Penetang Peninsula," his collections lacked "such typical cedar-swamp orchids as *Platanthera obtusata* (Banks ex Pursh) Lindl., *Goodyera repens* (L.) R.Br., and *Listera cordata* (L.) R.Br. as well as ... species well known from bogs in the Penetang Peninsula such as *Platanthera blephariglottis* (Willd.) Lindl. and *Kalmia angustifolia* L." [authors' names added].

Collections of historical significance include several naturalized species. Of particular interest is *Hesperis matronalis* L., from "the shores of Lake Huron," the first North American collection of this species, which is now extensively and abundantly naturalized. Another adventive species of note was *Viola arvensis* Murray (*V. tricolor* κ *arvensis* (Murray) DC.), which, in contrast, is still very uncommon in the Georgian Bay area.

At least five of Todd's collections are nomenclaturally significant. One is the holotype of the name *Linum medium* (Planch.) Britton. Todd's specimen was identified as *L. virginianum* L. by Hooker; *L. medium* was distinguished as a variety of *L. virginianum* in 1848 and at specific rank in 1897. Two, respectively, are syntypes of the currently accepted names *Hypericum ellipticum* Hook. and *Gentiana andrewsii* Griseb., both of which were applied to species first described in Hooker's *Flora*; another is a syntype of the name *Spiranthes decipiens* Hook., now regarded as a later synonym of *Goodyera oblongifolia* Raf. A specimen of *Arabis*, incorrectly identified as *A. laevigata* DC. by Hooker, has been designated the lectotype of the later name *A. confinis* S. Wats. by Rollins (1983), who tentatively assigned this name to synonymy under *A. drummondii* A. Gray, pending examination of the Todd specimen.

A few of the species sent by Todd to Hooker raise questions as to their origin. *Hudsonia tomentosa* Nutt. is restricted in its distribution in Ontario, with no records from the Penetanguishene or Severn River areas (see Soper &

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[10] *Hypericum ellipticum* has, however, also been reported southeast of Elmvale, between Penetanguishene and Lake Simcoe (Bobbette & Webber, 1979). Upon vertification of the specimen (*H. majus* (A. Gray) Britt. had not been distinguished from *H. canadense* in Hooker's time). *H. canadense* L. might also be mentioned as evidence of a collecting trip northeastward.

Heimburger, 1982, which incorporates unpublished studies by Morse).[11] Suitable habitats appear to exist in the area, however, and an otherwise undiscovered population may have existed there. *Coreopsis lanceolata* L. is likewise unknown in the southern Georgian Bay area, although it does occur in the northern part of the Bruce Peninsula. *Silene virginica* L., represented by several plants in Todd's collection, is known historically from no farther north in Canada than the Lake Erie Islands, islands in the Detroit River, and the vicinity of Port Franks. Possible explanations are that Todd had retained some specimens collected during his days at the Grand River; that he received these specimens from other persons; or that he collected specimens on a trip to Lake Erie, where *H. tomentosa* and *S. virginica* are known. Although these explanations might seem unlikely in view of the fact that Todd specifically noted that he had made other collections en route to York, it is likely that he was more concerned about the sequence of taxa in his collection than about the provenances of his specimens. In addition, Hooker's *Flora* appears to state that Todd collected *Clintonia borealis* (Ait.) Raf. (as *Smilacina borealis* Ait.) in New Brunswick. This is probably merely a confused sequence of provenances and collectors' names; there is no specimen of *C. borealis* at Kew labelled as having been collected by Todd in New Brunswick.

Following the death of C.C. Todd, Hooker received the following letter from William Todd (R.B.G., Kew, Hooker Correspondence, Misc. Letters 1818-30 XLIV:173):

11 Nelson Terrace
City Road
11 May 1829

Dear Sir--

In looking over the papers of my late Brother, Mr. C:C: Todd, late Surgeon R:N: I find two letters from yourself, in which you propose to return the specimens of Plants he forwarded to you from hence -- Doubtlessly you have heard of his melancholy Death from yr friend Dr. Richardson,[12] which circumstance may have prevented you from doing so. As my Son has commenced the study of Botany & still continues it, the Specimens will materially forward his exertion, particularly as his Uncle had left a short account of many of them, you will therefore be pleased to forward them as under; sincerely hoping they may have been serviceable to you in the compilation of your Flora, I have the honour to remain

Sir
Your Obedient Servant
Wm Todd

Address 11 Nelson Terrace
City Road

[11] Undocumented reports of *Hudsonia* near Washago circulated among amateur naturalists in Ontario in the 1960s, but a visit to the specific outcrops on which this species was said to be abundant indicated that these reports were based on *Sedum acre* L.

[12] Todd's death is not mentioned in Richardson's letters to Hooker from this period. "As under" in this letter is uncertain.

As there are no later letters from William Todd in Hooker's correspondence, it may be assumed that Hooker acceded to this request. However, since William Todd would not likely have known how many species or how many specimens of each had been collected by his brother, it may also be assumed that Hooker retained a thorough representation of Todd's collections. In fact, he retained enough to distribute some duplicates to colleagues in Scotland. These specimens are now at E and E-GL (Hedge & Lamond, 1970).[13] There is no indication that William Todd's son, whose name has not been encountered in this study, achieved anything significant in botany, and it is unlikely that the specimens sent to him are extant. The specimens that Hooker retained for his own herbarium were among those that he took with him when he left Glasgow to become director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. These are now at K.

In 1828, Richardson, then at the Royal Marine Infirmary, Chatham, Kent, sent Hooker Todd's account of the medicinal properties of some of the plants he had collected (Richardson, in epist. to Hooker, 28 July 1828, R.B.G., Kew, Hooker Correspondence, Misc. Letters 1818-30 XLIV:144). The fate of this account is unknown; it does not appear among Hooker's letters from Richardson or Todd. Some comments in the *Flora Boreali-Americana*, such as "The root is medicinal, and employed in lieu of Jalap," following the description of *Podophyllum peltatum*, may be derived from information compiled by Todd. Such comments, however, are few, and some are based on Richardson's observations made farther west, so it appears that most of this information has been lost.

Todd is commemorated not only by the citations in Hooker's *Flora*, but also in the name of Todd Point, given by Bayfield to the southwest point of a hammerhead-shaped secondary peninsula at the north end of the Penetanguishene Peninsula. (See Whitė, 1913.) At the reconstruction of the Naval Establishment, Asst. Surgeon and Mrs. Todd are annually portrayed by summer employees.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to Ms. Michelle Quealey for assembling material on C.C. Todd for my study at Midland; to the library staff at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, for access to correspondence in the archives; to Mr. Eustace Cornelius for information from the records of the Royal College of Surgeons of England; to Dr. Anton A. Reznicek for information on the distribution of plant species in Simcoe County and for helpful comments on a preliminary version of the manuscript; and to Drs. Ronald L. Stuckey, Edward G. Voss, and Rogers McVaugh for reviews of the manuscript at subsequent stages in its development.

[13] Abbreviations for herbaria follow Holmgren, P.K., W. Keuken, & E.K. Schofield. 1981. Index Herbariorum. Part I. The Herbaria of the World, ed. 7. Regnum Veg. 106. vii + 452 pp.

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Settlements in southern Ontario with nurseries established before 1915.

Canadian Horticultural History
Histoire de l'horticulture au Canada
1 (1): 28-64, 1985

SOME EARLY ONTARIO NURSERYMEN*

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Abstract

A nursery of fruit trees was mentioned in Upper Canada (now the Canadian province of Ontario) as early as 1800. Before 1915, at least 125 nurseries are known to have operated. Many were apparently short-lived, but some spanned several decades and involved more than one generation of proprietors. Most nurserymen listed general nursery stock, although early 19th-century nurserymen concentrated at first on fruit trees, rather than on ornamental trees and shrubs; and later 19th-century nurserymen's specializations included small fruits; herbaceous perennials; greenhouse plants, bedding-out plants, and roses; and plants for the colder parts of country.

This paper provides an overview of Ontario nursery development from 1800 through 1914, then focuses on the nurseries founded by James Dougall in southwestern Ontario after 1840. A preliminary listing of some 125 pre-World War I Ontario nurseries is appended, with references included to advertisements or mentions in the agricultural press, and to their catalogues or trade cards, if now in public or private collections.

Abstract

Dés 1800, on entend parler de pépinières d'arbres fruitiers dans le Haut-Canada (maintenant l'Ontario). On sait qu'il y en eut au moins 125 avant 1915. Parmi celles-ci, beaucoup ne connurent qu'une brève existence, mais certaines durèrent plusieurs décennies et eurent plus d'une génération de propriétaires. La plupart des pépiniéristes font état de plantes de toutes sortes bien que, au début du XIX^{e} siècle, ils se soient intéressés surtout aux arbres fruitiers plutôt qu'aux arbres et arbustes décoratifs; les pépiniéristes de la fin du XIX^{e} se spécialisaient dans les petits fruits, herbacées vivaces, plantes de serre, plantes de repiquage et roses et, enfin, plantes pour les régions froides du pays.

Cet article présente une vue d'ensemble du développement des pépinières en Ontario de 1800 à 1914, puis se concentre sur les pépinières fondées par James Dougall dans le sud-ouest de l'Ontario, après 1840. On trouvera en annexe une liste préliminaire des quelque 125 pépinières qui existaient en Ontario avant la Première Guerre mondiale, ainsi que des références aux annonces ou mentions qui paraissaient dans la presse agricole et aux catalogues ou cartes d'affaires qui peuvent se trouver actuellement dans les collections publiques ou privées.

Sometimes I'm tempted to think that there are just two kinds of people in the world: those who can't bear to throw away a fruitwood cutting, a peach seedling, a strawberry clone, a phlox division, or a jade plant leaf; and those who can. Those who can't end up in the nursery business; and those who can eventually become their customers.

William Bond of the Town of York* was clearly one who couldn't, especially when it came to fruit stock. A series of advertisements in *The Upper Canada Gazette*, published at York, suggests that, although Bond may have changed his plan to establish a commercial nursery on his acre of land near the heart of town, he did not stop propagating plants there. Bond's nursery was the earliest I have yet come across in Upper Canada.[1]

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*Toronto, Ontario, Canada, was the Town of York until 1834.

*This paper was presented at the Symposium on *Garden History in Southern Ontario*, March 30, 1984, at the Old Mill, Toronto, Ontario. The Symposium was sponsored by Humber Arboretum, Rexdale, Ontario.

The first ad, which ran in the *Gazette* from March through May 1801, appears to have been Bond's, although it bore no name:

> Fruit Trees for Sale. About 2000 Fruit trees of various kinds from the best seed; 500 [ditto] grafted from the best fruit of Mr. Prince's garden L. island, most of which six and nine years old, some have borne fruit: viz.—Apple, pear, peach, plumb, cherry, apricot, nectarine, quince, goosberry, currant, grape, mulberry, &c. Also a few Lumberdy poplar and arealia or locus trees...

Bond's first signed ad ran in the *Gazette* in September and October 1801, and cannot have gone unnoticed by readers; for it began, in large typeface, "To be given away,"

> That beautifully situated Lot...fronting on Ontario and Duchess Streets [and] the buildings thereon...
>
> The conditions are...that [the purchaser also] purchase, not less than two thousand Apple Trees at three shillings N.Y.C. [New York Currency] each; after which will be added as a further present, about one hundred Apple, thirty Peach, and fourteen Cherry Trees, besides wild Plumbs, wild Cherries, English Goose-berries, white and red Currants, &c. &c.—There are forty of the above Apple Trees, as also the Peach and Cherry Trees, planted regular as an Orchard, several of which appeared in blossom last spring, and must be considered as very valuable...

Bond apparently still found no takers for his two thousand apple trees and other fruit stock; but that didn't keep him from further multiplying and dividing it. From November 1803 to March 1804, he advertised in the *Gazette*:

> ...That highly cultivated Lot belonging to the Subscriber, containing from ten to twelve thousand fruit trees, of all descriptions, suitable to the climate, and which are now in a highly flourishing condition--together with the Buildings thereon...

In place of his giveaway offer of 1801, he promised "a liberal credit" for "two-thirds of the purchase money."

Then, in a *Gazette* ad dated June 1804, Bond announced that the property would be sold at auction on August 20, and gave a fuller assessment of the nursery stock:

> ...one Acre, together with a Nursery thereon of about ten thousand Apple, three hundred Peach and nine Cherry Trees full of Fruit; besides black and red Plumbs, red and white Currants, English Goosberries, Lilacs, Rose-bushes, &c. &c....The Nursery is in such a fine state of forwardness, that if sold in from two to three years (at which time the Apple Trees will be fit to transplant) at the moderate price of one shilling each, would repay a sum double to that asked for the whole...

The number of apple trees on Bond's acre increased five-fold between 1801 and 1804; and yet, for most of that time, he was apparently not engaged as a commercial nurseryman. A problem in nursery history research is trying to separate people like Bond –who started nursery gardens and sold plants on a short-term basis, or who sold them casually to neighbours from time to time—

CATALOGUE

OF

FRUIT & ORNAMENTAL TREES,

Flowering Shrubs,

GARDEN SEEDS AND GREEN-HOUSE PLANTS,

BULBOUS ROOTS & FLOWER SEEDS,

CULTIVATED AND FOR SALE AT THE

TORONTO NURSERY,

Dundas Street, near York,

BY

WILLIAM W. CUSTEAD.

YORK:
Printed by William Lyon Mackenzie, Printer to the House of Assembly.

1827.

Front cover of the 18-page 1827 catalogue of William W. Custead's Toronto Nursery, west of York. (Metropolitan Toronto Library Board, Canada)

from people dedicated to establishing long-term nursery businesses. So far, my method has been not to discount anyone. The appendix, therefore, lists every person I have come across who seemed ever to have produced outdoor plants for sale in what we now call the province of Ontario.*

William Custead began in 1811 "...raising a few trees [particularly the apple] for his own use." His Toronto Nursery on Dundas Street, near York, "...would," he wrote, "perhaps never have been thought of, had there not been such difficulty in obtaining good kinds by purchase..." But by 1827, the date of his catalogue which survives in the Baldwin Room at Metropolitan Toronto Library, he had "nearly 20,000 apple trees, the greater part of which," he proudly stated, "are grafted or innoculated with the best and most approved European and American kinds..." He then listed —by name— 79 varieties of apples and crabapples, 25 of pears, 17 of plums, 6 of cherries, 9 of peaches, and 2 of nectarines, as well as soft fruits, ornamental trees, flowering shrubs, biennials and perennials, bulbous roots, greenhouse plants, and flower, vegetable, and herb seeds.

Custead's catalogue is a fine example of the kind of information early nurserymen's lists provide modern landscape and garden history researchers. It not only told *what* was available, but offered suggestions for layout, planting, and care. It explained in some detail the nurseryman's problems in supplying true-to-name varieties. It outlined how customers, both in and near York and "in any part of the Canadas or the adjoining states," should place orders, and how their orders would be packed and sent. It thanked "those gentlemen who have fostered [this] establishment by presents of plants, seeds, &c," and promised prices not exceeding, and in general one third less, than those of the nurseries at New York.[2]

Chauncey Beadle, M.D., may have been the first nurseryman in the Niagara Peninsula.** His St. Catharines Nursery was begun in the 1830's and had, by 1839, a stock of 250,000 fruit trees in cultivation. Beadle, who advertised in *The* [St. Catharines] *Journal*, and published his first catalogue in 1841, did not list ornamentals until 1845, and then only the horse chestnut and the yellow locust.[3] Compare those with Custead's listing of 12 ornamental trees and more than three dozen flowering shrubs in 1827, and his successor Charles Barnhart's listing of the same and more ornamentals in 1837. (It was natural, of course, that the market for ornamentals was larger around Toronto, an older and wealthier settlement, where ladies and gentlemen like David Smith of Maryville Lodge, Elizabeth Russell of Russell Abbey, W.B. Jarvis of Rosedale, D'Arcy Boulton Jr. of The Grange, and John Macaulay of Elmsley Villa took an active interest in horticulture and landscape gardening.)

Like Custead and Beadle, most early nurserymen concentrated on production of fruit stock, but carried a certain number of ornamentals — especially thorny ones useful for hedging — as well. The number of nurserymen in Upper Canada grew as the province itself grew. Samuel Taylor may have started a nursery at Fonthill in 1837, although the date now seems impossible to substantiate.[5] George Leslie, an already-established seedsman, planted the first

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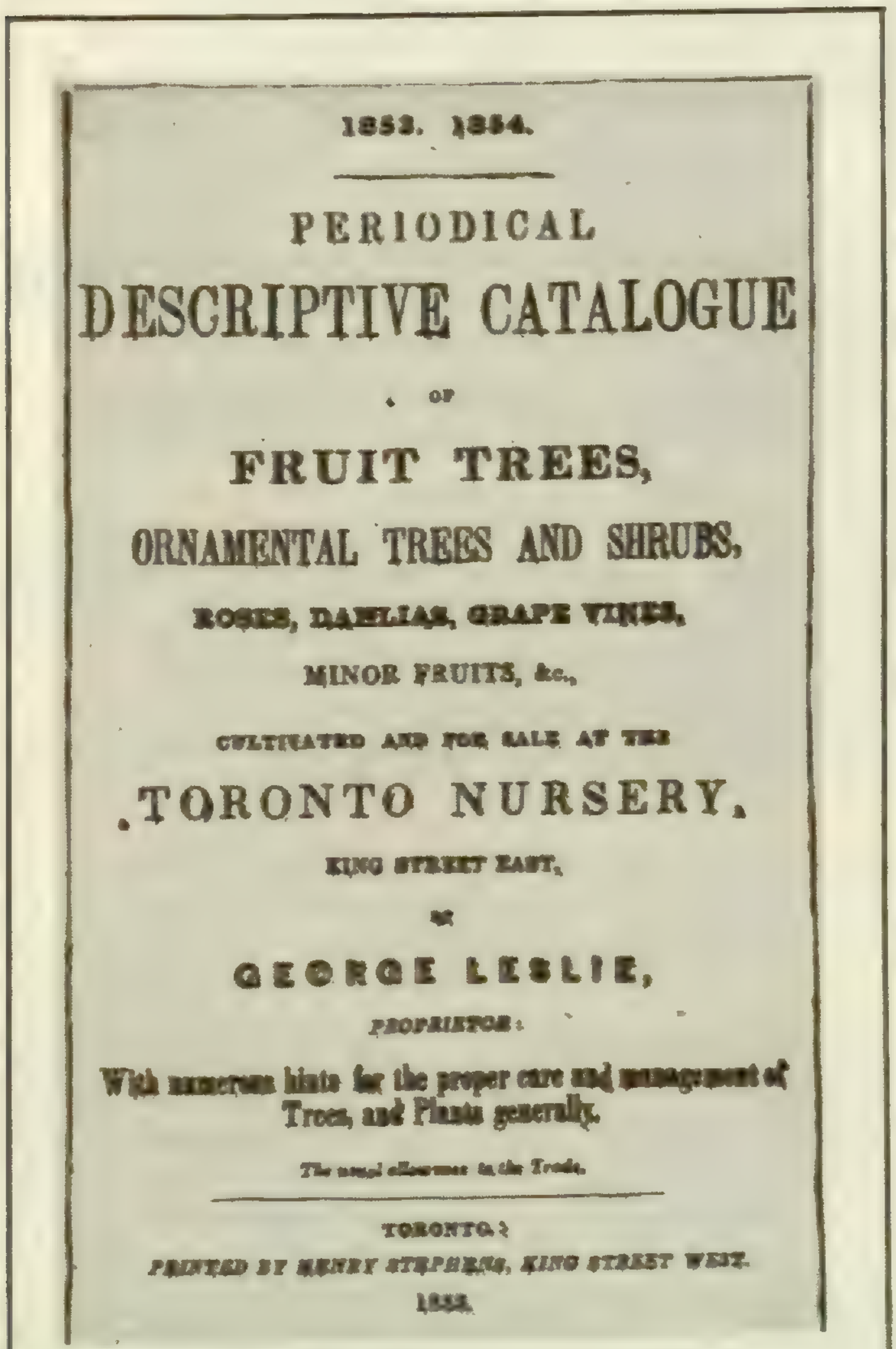
*The present-day Province of Ontario was known as Upper Canada from 1791 until 1841; and as Canada West from 1841 until 1867, the year of Confederation.

** The Niagara Peninsula, comprised of the former Lincoln and Welland Counties, and now the Regional Municipality of Niagara, is Ontario's tender fruits-producing area.

stock at his Toronto Nursery in 1842.[6] John Gray's Grange Conservatories at Toronto featured greenhouse plants in an 1846 catalogue, but also mentioned fruit trees, small fruits, and some ornamentals.[7] Other early Ontario nurseries included: John Goldie's, on his farm near Ayr, established in the 1840's: E. Hubbard's Guelph Nursery, established by 1848; James Dougall's Rosebank Nursery, established in Anderdon Township near Amherstburg by 1849; Josiah C. Marston's nursery at L'Orignal, established before 1850; John A. Bruce's at Hamilton, established in 1850 —with the nursery part taken over by David Murray in 1871; John Wade's Hamilton Gardens in Hamilton Township near Port Hope, established before 1851; Charles Arnold's Paris Nurseries, established in 1853: David Nicol's nursery at Lyn, established about 1854; and C.E. Woolverton's and A.M. Smith's Grimsby Nursery, established in 1856. The Appendix lists more than 125 nurseries established between 1800 and 1914.[8]

The early nurseries solicited business through broadsides such as an 1837 one from Charles Barnhart, through ads in newspapers and agricultural journals, and through catalogues printed both separately and as part of advertisements. To bring good business, a great many potential customers had to be reached. Thus James Dougall, with his nursery near the Detroit River, advertised in the *Montreal Witness*, the *Canadian Agriculturist*, and *The* [Toronto] *Globe*, as well as locally.



1853. 1854.

PERIODICAL

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE

OF

FRUIT TREES,

ORNAMENTAL TREES AND SHRUBS,

ROSES, DAHLIAS, GRAPE VINES,

MINOR FRUITS, &c.,

CULTIVATED AND FOR SALE AT THE

TORONTO NURSERY,

KING STREET EAST,

BY

GEORGE LESLIE,

PROPRIETOR:

With numerous hints for the proper care and management of Trees, and Plants generally.

The usual allowance to the Trade.

TORONTO:

PRINTED BY HENRY STEPHENS, KING STREET WEST.

1853.

Front cover of the 1853 catalogue of George Leslie's Toronto Nurseries, east of Toronto. (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Canada)

If business was to be more than local, nursery location was as important as advertising, as suggested by this 1845 Chauncey Beadle ad:

> It may be well to observe, for the information of those who live at a distance, that St. Catharines is situated on the Welland Canal, which connects lakes Erie and Ontario, affording good facilities for transportation to any of the ports on those lakes...[9]

George Leslie's Toronto Nurseries partnership, from 1845 through 1848, with George Ellwanger's and Patrick Barry's Mt. Hope Nurseries of Rochester, New York, [10] was natural and easy because Lake Ontario steamers connected the two cities. For the same reasons, the Chase Brothers' Rochester Nurseries could maintain a branch at Colborne, in the second half of the century. Letters exchanged by John and James Goldie and John Turnbull in the 1840's and 1850's discussed the need of and excellent prospects for a nursery business near the growing populations of Hamilton and Dundas. [11] James Dougall's location near Windsor —not to mention his control of the Detroit River ferries and a wharf — brought him trade from urbane Detroiters as well as from farmers, orchardists and market gardeners on both shores. The completion of the Grand Trunk Railway and its Great Western connection to Windsor, in the 1850's, extended his business considerably further. Niagara Peninsula nurseries in the latter half of the 19th century made extensive use of the rails to ship trees to the Maritimes, the Canadian Prairies, into the United States, and beyond. [12] At Brown Brothers Company, Nurserymen, in Pelham Township, a spur from the Michigan Central was carried right onto the nursery grounds. [13]

Mail order business was so important to nurseries that some had their own postal stations. Leslieville was a postal village near George Leslie's Toronto Nurseries; and the Niagara Peninsula post office called Brown's Nurseries was operated from 1897 to 1910 for the exclusive use of that establishment[14] (which was, by the way, the branch of a Rochester nursery).

Representatives who could take orders at some distance from the nursery could obviously increase the volume of business. William Custead of York, as early as 1827, had appointed 13 "agents for receiving orders," at Yorkville (where it was the prominent businessman Jesse Ketchum), Richmond Hill, Gwillimbury, Esquesing, Dundas, Niagara, Queenston, near Cobourg, Port Hope, Guelph, Waterloo, and Oxford, all in Upper Canada, and Lewiston, New York.[15] Custead's agents were mostly local businessmen providing an additional service to attract customers. As early as 1849 James Dougall's brother John was using his own Montreal home garden to display ornamentals and take orders for the Windsor nursery.[16]

From about 1850 onward, however, nursery agents were likely to be travelling salesmen whose exploits, more often dishonest than otherwise (if we believe only what their detractors wrote about them) formed a colourful part of Canadian nursery history.

These agents called on would-be customers in their homes during the winter; tempted them with fruits, flowers, and ornamental trees shown in the theorem paintings, hand-coloured engravings, and chromolithographs lavishly printed and impressively bound in Rochester, New York; quoted low prices; and solicited orders for spring delivery. (We are fortunate to have at the Royal Botanical Gardens in Hamilton, Ontario, a small collection of those now very valuable picture books.) The practices of "the picture book gentry" were so well documented by Canadian agricultural press editors, disgruntled farmers, and concerned nurserymen that a few passages will give some idea of what was

going on from the 1850's right into the 20th century, not only in Ontario but wherever in Canada settlement was taking place.

One can easily imagine what a temptation it was for a farm family, seeing these pictures by lamplight in the familiarity of home after a long day's work, to place trust, and an order, with a travelling nursery agent.

[1861, in the *Canadian Agriculturist:*]

> ...It appears that at the present time, owing to the unsettled state of affairs in the Southern States, "Yankee tree pedlars" who usually spend their winters there taking up orders for trees, have made Canada their field of operations, and at the present time probably there is not a Homestead throughout the length and breadth of the land that has not been visited by these gentry...[17]

[1870:] [To the Editor of the *Canada Farmer*:]

> Sir: I want to tell people to look out for these Tree Agents. They are great scamps. They go around the country telling you they are the agents of some nursery, most always one of our best Canada Nurseries, and get you to subscribe for some trees which they promise they will bring from that nursery. When they get a lot subscribed for, they go off someplace where they can get some cheap trees and buy them up for little or nothing, and then put what names they like on them and bring them to you...I know that is a fact for I caught them at it this summer...I wonder, Mr. Editor, if there is no way to punish the scamps that go around telling such lies...[18]

[1873, from Niagara Peninsula nurseryman A.M. Smith's prize essay on Impositions of Dishonest Tree Pedlars:]

> Of all the plagues with which Canadian fruit growers are afflicted, either of beasts, birds or insects, there is none so annoying, and...so destructive, and so hard to exterminate, as dishonest tree pedlers...[19]

[1890, at the Annual Meeting of the Fruit Growers' Association of Ontario]

> ...The nursery jobber fills the orchards of our farmers with the very cheapest trees that are to be had...The experience of the farmer is that seven out of every ten trees are a failure...[The farmers] have been so persistently humbugged that...you cannot arouse in them any interest in fruit-growing unless you point out some more satisfactory mode of dealing...[20]

And farmers were not the only ones duped by tree agents. Paris, Ontario, nurseryman Charles Arnold relayed to the *Canadian Agriculturist* in 1861 this story told him by a wily agent:

> "...On the mountain at Hamilton there lives a certain local magnate, to whom I sold a lot of fruit and ornamental trees, amongst them quite a number of Horse Chestnut, and in making out my bill, I added after the name Horse Chestnut, (Carthagenian) $1.00 each; but Mr. Amateur, thinking it was rather a big price, said he could buy them from any Nurseryman in Canada at 50 cents each, quite as good trees, and with better roots. Fully expecting this, however, I said with some little pretended warmth; 'Sir, I beg your pardon, but I defy you to get them in Canada at all, why sir, the Carthagenian Horse Chestnut is quite a new

thing, and I will give you now, a dollar apiece for every Carthagenian Horse Chestnut you will bring me;' 'Oh!' says Mr. Amateur, 'beg pardon, beg your pardon, --Carthagenian, --Carthagenian Horse Chestnuts, are they? certainly, certainly,' and then he gives me the cash without another word." "Then," adds the man with the pictures, when relating the story..., "God knows I never heard of Carthagenian Horse Chestnut before."[21]

Coloured lithograph of horse chestnut, *The Nurseryman's Specimen Book of American Horticulture and Floriculture. Fruits, Flowers, Ornamental Trees, Shrubs, Roses. &c.* (Rochester: D.M. Dewey, n.d., but ca.1880.) (Royal Botanical Gardens, Ontario, Canada)

Beyond such coverage in the agricultural press and at meetings like the Fruit Growers', several reputable Ontario nurserymen addressed the matter through their advertisements. "...My salesmen receive a new certificate every month. Beware of imposters," Delos White Beadle (son of Chauncey, and successor in the nursery business to him) warned potential St. Catharines Nurseries customers in 1864.[22] But continually plagued with agents falsely claiming to represent him, he tried another course in 1870 by giving notice that "No travelling agents are sent out from these Nurseries," and naming instead dealers in London and Goderich who would supply first-quality stock purchased only from him.[23]

A.M. Smith advised buyers in 1876 to visit his Dominion Nursery at Grimsby:

> Call and examine our stock, or send to us for a price list, before giving your orders to *Irresponsible Tree Pedlers from The States.* Prices to suit the times, and varieties guaranteed true to name. [24]

In a c.1881 catalogue he explained further:

> ...We prefer dealing directly with planters, consequently we send out no travelling agents; but we employ local agents to sell in their own immediate neighborhood, then people will know when they are buying of responsible men...[25]

In a July 1875 ad for his five-year old Fonthill Nurseries, Dexter D'Everardo devoted a more elaborate paragraph to the subject:

> ...The custom of selling trees through the intervention of canvassers having been, as it were, forced upon us by the American dealers, I would respectfully intimate to the Farmers and people generally, both in town and country, that an Agent from this Nursery, furnished with a proper CERTIFICATE OF AGENCY, [and] one of our printed forms, will wait upon them all personally *before the close of this season* soliciting their orders, thus giving an opportunity to obtain reliable stock at reasonable prices. This being a purely Canadian undertaking, the proprietor hopes to receive support and encouragement from the Canadian public.[26]

About 1905, a catalogue from Fonthill Nurseries, by then owned by William Wellington and Edward Morris, printed this:

> CAUTION. The reputation of our firm for square and honest dealing, and sending out stock equalled by few and surpassed by none, has led unscrupulous agents, as well as dealers and jobbers in stock, to use our name. It sometimes happens that an agent whose service we have dispensed with retains some of our literature, including order blanks.
>
> *Do not be deceived*. When you are solicited for an order demand of the agent to show his Certificate of Agency, which is pasted in his plate book, and which is signed by us, and if he cannot produce this he is not one of our duly-appointed agents.[27]

It was no wonder that Canadian nurserymen did react so strongly to dishonest agents' reputation-damaging tactics; for they had made huge investments not only of personal reputation but of time and manpower, and in land, stock, equipment, and specialized structures. The tools of early nurserymen like William Custead and Chauncey Beadle may have been fairly simple, but Victorians loved natural science and technological invention, and the tools and accessories of the nursery business evolved rapidly. An 1869 Welland County deed lists what William Page of the Village of Welland, Nurseryman, had on a five-acre piece of Pelham Township land he had been using for just part of his nursery operation: tools, packing boxes, boxes and labels, a dwelling house, a Grafting House, a Cellar, a Barn, two rows of Pear Trees, two rows of Peach Trees, one row of Grape Vines, 4 Norway Spruce trees, one Dwf [sic] Cherry tree, ornamental trees and shrubs, and one year old Apple Grafts.[28]

Turn-of-the-century scenes at other nurseries photographed for their catalogues and for *The Canadian Horticulturist* show the extent and complexity of some of the larger operations.[29]

At Morris, Stone, and Wellington's Fonthill Nurseries, packing crews were photographed working in the filtered light of a woodlot still visible today near the entrance to the Wellington Heights subdivision.

A photograph of the shipping-season crew at E.D. Smith's Helderleigh Nurseries at Winona gives some idea of the welcomed, although seasonal, investment in local boy- and manpower made by a large nursery operation.

Photographs from Brown Brothers Company, at Brown's Nurseries, show specialized storage and packing buildings including what was claimed in 1907 to be the "best storage building for nursery stock on the continent."[30]

Advertisement showing the outdoor packing area at The Fonthill Nurseries. *The Canadian Horticulturist*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 5, May 1905. (Royal Botanical Gardens, Ontario, Canada)

The nurseries mentioned so far produced general nursery stock: fruit trees and small fruits, with a list of ornamentals whose length and diversity depended on the interests of the nurseryman and the needs and aspirations of his particular clientele. In the second half of the 19th century and into the 20th, however, a new breed of nurseryman also appeared: the specialist.

There were specialists in small fruits, such as: A.M. Smith of Grimsby and St. Catharines — who specialized more and more in small fruits as time went on; W.W. Hilborn of Arkona; T.C. Robinson of Owen Sound; and William Fleming of Owen Sound.

There were specialists in herbaceous perennials, such as: Charles Ernest Woolverton, a landscape architect who, on a fifth-generation farm in Grimsby, produced perennials for sale from 1905 through 1907 under the name Specialty Nursery Company; John Cavers, succeeded by Erick Erickson, at Douglas Gardens in Oakville; and Mary Eliza Blacklock and Minerva Castle of Rowancroft Gardens in Meadowvale.

Front cover of the 1892 catalogue of Webster Bros., Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. (Royal Botanical Gardens, Ontario, Canada)

There were specialists in greenhouse plants, bedding-out plants, and roses, such as Webster Brothers of Hamilton and E.M. Mitchell of Port Hope.

And there were a few specialists in the hybridization and sale of particular genera. H.H. Groff of Simcoe, for example, was respected for his breeding work with gladioli and cannas.[31]

There were also some hardy plant specialists, located mainly near Georgian Bay, in the Ottawa River Valley, and in eastern Ontario, and interested in selecting and supplying plants for their own and similar northerly climates. At least at first, they were working more or less on their own; for, although the Fruit Growers' Association of Ontario from 1875 attempted to have its members test a few plants each year for hardiness, a scientific attempt to produce hardiness information for Ontario began only after the 1886 Act establishing the Dominion Experimental Farm at Ottawa.[32] The northern nurserymen, much more than their contemporaries near Lake Erie and the western end of Lake Ontario, had therefore to experiment and take risks.

Josiah Marston reported to the *Canadian Agriculturist* from L'Orignal (northeast of Ottawa) in 1850:

> ...I am anxious to import into the district all the fine varieties of fruit that can be obtained. With this object in view, I intend, as soon as circumstances will admit, to try all the different kinds, in order to ascertain which will suit our climate best...I now have in my nursery grounds 25,000 apple trees and 500 cherry trees...[33]

James Cumming promoted his Lyn Nurseries in *The* [Toronto] *Globe* in 1876 by pointing out:

> These nurseries are situated six miles west of Brockville in nearly the same latitude as Montreal. Those wishing fine healthy trees, true to name, and likely to grow in this northern climate, should patronize a local Nursery like this, where only the choice, highly-flavoured sorts are cultivated, such as have stood the test of fifteen years experience ...[34]

T.C. Reid of the Belleville Nurseries, who was featured as a leading Ontario nurseryman by *The Canadian Horticulturist* in 1904, still felt that he was serving a limited clientele when he said:

> My object is to get hardy stock which will suit the northern climate... when I started here some eight years ago, many people said that nursery stock could not be grown successfully at Belleville. However, I have succeeded well enough to now have about 35 acres in nursery stock of different lines...[35]

Interestingly, even the Niagara Peninsula nurseries built reputations for hardy stock. Morris, Stone, and Wellington's Fonthill Nurseries, for instance, shipped stock all across Canada, to northern Europe, and into the northern states. By 1892, to facilitate such orders, they had established branch offices in Toronto; Montreal; Victoria, B.C.; Rochester, New York; Madison, Wisconsin; and Lewiston, Maine.[36] Some of these customers may have been satisfied, but—as Edwinna von Baeyer points out—Canadian prairie customers eventually supported pioneering nurserymen in their own provinces.[37]

With 125 nurseries in the Appendix, and a history going back at least to 1800, this has to be a cursory look at early Ontario nurserymen. By way of conclusion, I'd like to suggest how interesting each may have been by presenting one—James Dougall—in more detail.

Dougall was born in Paisley, Scotland, in 1810; came to Canada in 1826; and died in Windsor in 1888. An entry for Dougall, identifying him as a merchant, horticulturist, and politician, and covering his numerous family connections, political achievements, and business ups and downs, has been included in Vol. XI of the *Canadian Biographical Dictionary*. He married into the Bâbys, a prominent Windsor family. His brother John lived in Montreal, married a Redpath, and founded the weekly *Montreal Witness*. About 1830, James and his father, with brother John in Montreal as partner, opened J. and J. Dougall, the first store in Sandwich and, for some years, a prosperous one. James Dougall gave generously to education for all by building the first schoolhouse at Sandwich (renamed Windsor at his suggestion); by establishing an integrated school near Amherstburg where, previously, there had been no educational opportunities for black children; and by serving as a school trustee for 41 years. At his own expense, he outfitted a militia to defend Windsor in 1838. He was a Notary Public for 53 years, and served six times as Mayor of Windsor. The *CBD* entry merely mentions the nursery business he maintained — in addition to these other commitments — from at least 1849 through the late 1870's; and so I shall concentrate now on that side of his life.

James Dougall (1810-1888), (Hiram Walker Historical Museum, Windsor, Ontario, Canada)

James Dougall's first nursery was established in the 1840's at Rosebank, his 1840 home and cattle-breeding farm in Anderdon Township near Amherstburg. Rosebank Nursery's earliest ads may have been those that appeared in the *Montreal Witness* and the *Canadian Agriculturist* in 1849, offering for sale perennial and bulbous flowers including tulips, double and single named hyacinths, choice new dahlias, paeonies, roses, flowering shrubs, fruit trees, and flower seeds.[38] A *Canadian Agriculturist* editorial called readers' attention to Dougall's ad, praising his very extensive and well-grown collection, mentioning the "state of maturity in his extensive orchard," and concluding:

> ...A sense of duty impels us thus to make honorable mention of the one who has done much to advance both the agricultural as well as the horticultural interests of Canada.[39]

In 1850-51, the *Canadian Agriculturist* reprinted articles on fruit growing which Dougall was writing for the *Montreal Witness*[40] and it named "Mr. Dougall's *Establishment at Amherstburg*," plus Mr. Fleming's and Mr. Leslie's in Toronto, as "well-known" nurseries.[41]

After Dougall moved from Rosebank to Windsor in 1854, ads in the newly founded *Windsor Herald* mentioned "Fresh Garden Seeds" raised at the Windsor Nurseries; pear, apple, cherry, and other fruit trees; small fruits; native and foreign almonds, chesnuts [sic], walnuts, filberts, and mulberries; and the following listed as ornamental trees: "Mountain Ash – common and weeping— Tulip Tree, Black Walnut, Horse Chesnut, many varieties of Double Flowering Thorns, Weeping Trees of Many Sorts, Evergreens, many rare varieties, Roses, a splendid collection. [Also:] Tulips & Hyacinths, the finest stock in the country, Privet for Hedges, extra size."

The ad pointed out that:

> ...The Nurseries are situated immediately opposite Detroit, within five minutes distance of the centre of the city, and as their [sic] is no duty on nursery productions, [the Subscriber] has every facility to carry on the business to advantage...[42]

This statement, plus the featuring of ornamentals in the *Montreal Witness* ads, and a statement under "Ornamental Trees, &c." in the 1874 catalogue regarding tariffs, suggest that Dougall's customers for ornamentals were mainly in the big cities.

In 1862 — apparently to ease heavy debts incurred in other business ventures — Dougall used the *Canadian Agriculturist* to notify "Nurserymen, Tree Agents, and Fruit Growers" of a

> Great Catalogue Auction Sale...of the whole of the immense stock of Windsor Nurseries...As the Proprietor is discontinuing the business...[44]

Yet in 1864, he was advertising in the first issue of the new *Canada Farmer* his dwarf pears, apples, grape vines, currants, roses, ornamental trees, shrubs, &c. to be sold "very low," and adding: "Orders must be sent to the Subscriber, as no agents are employed."[45]

In 1867 Dougall consolidated his over two decades' experience in a 38-page book: *The Canadian Fruit-Culturist; or, Letters to an Intending Fruit-Grower, on the Proper Location, Soil, Preparation, Planting, and After-Cultivation of Orchards, Vineyards, and Gardens; with Directions for the Best Mode of Culture of Each Variety of Fruit; and Select Descriptive Lists of the Best Varieties of the Apple, Pear, Plum, Cherry, Grape, Peach, Nectarine, Apricot, Quince, Gooseberry, Currant, Blackberry, and Strawberry, Suitable for Upper and Lower Canada*, published by John Dougall & Son, Montreal, and sold at bookstores and through Windsor Nursery ads. It came in two editions: stiff paper covers, 25c, or bound in muslin, 50c.[46]

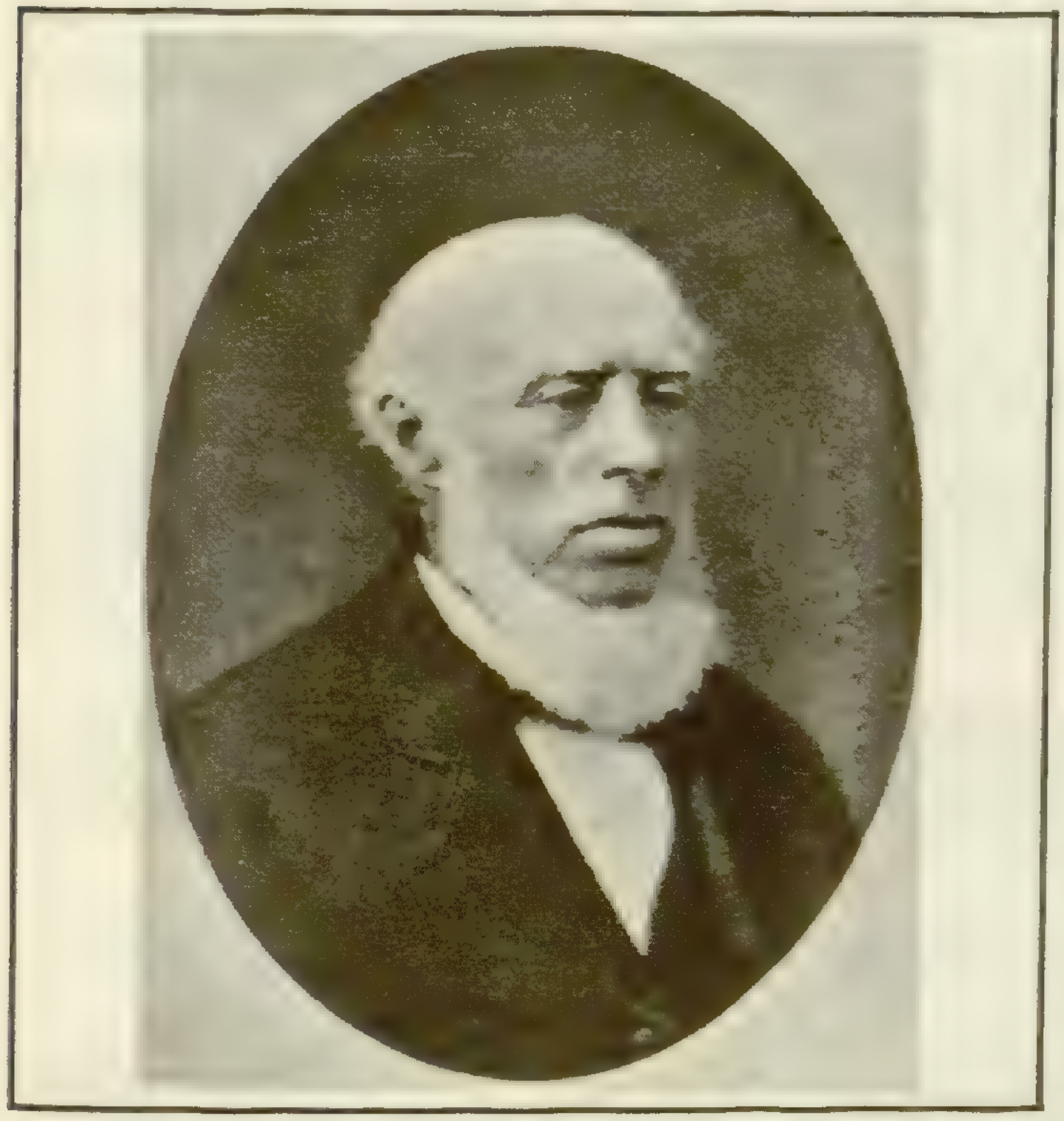
The National Library at Ottawa has an original copy of Dougall's book. Although catalogues were mentioned in Windsor Nurseries ads of 1862, 1864, 1870, 1874, and 1876,[47], an 1874 catalogue in the Hiram Walker Collection and an 1875 catalogue at the Royal Botanical Gardens are the few survivors.

Beginning with the 1862 auction, Windsor Nurseries ads usually emphasized low prices, perhaps reflecting Dougall's financial difficulties, but certainly reflecting increasing competition among Ontario nurseries. A tiny — almost illegible — ad ran in *The Daily Globe*, Toronto, in the spring of 1876:

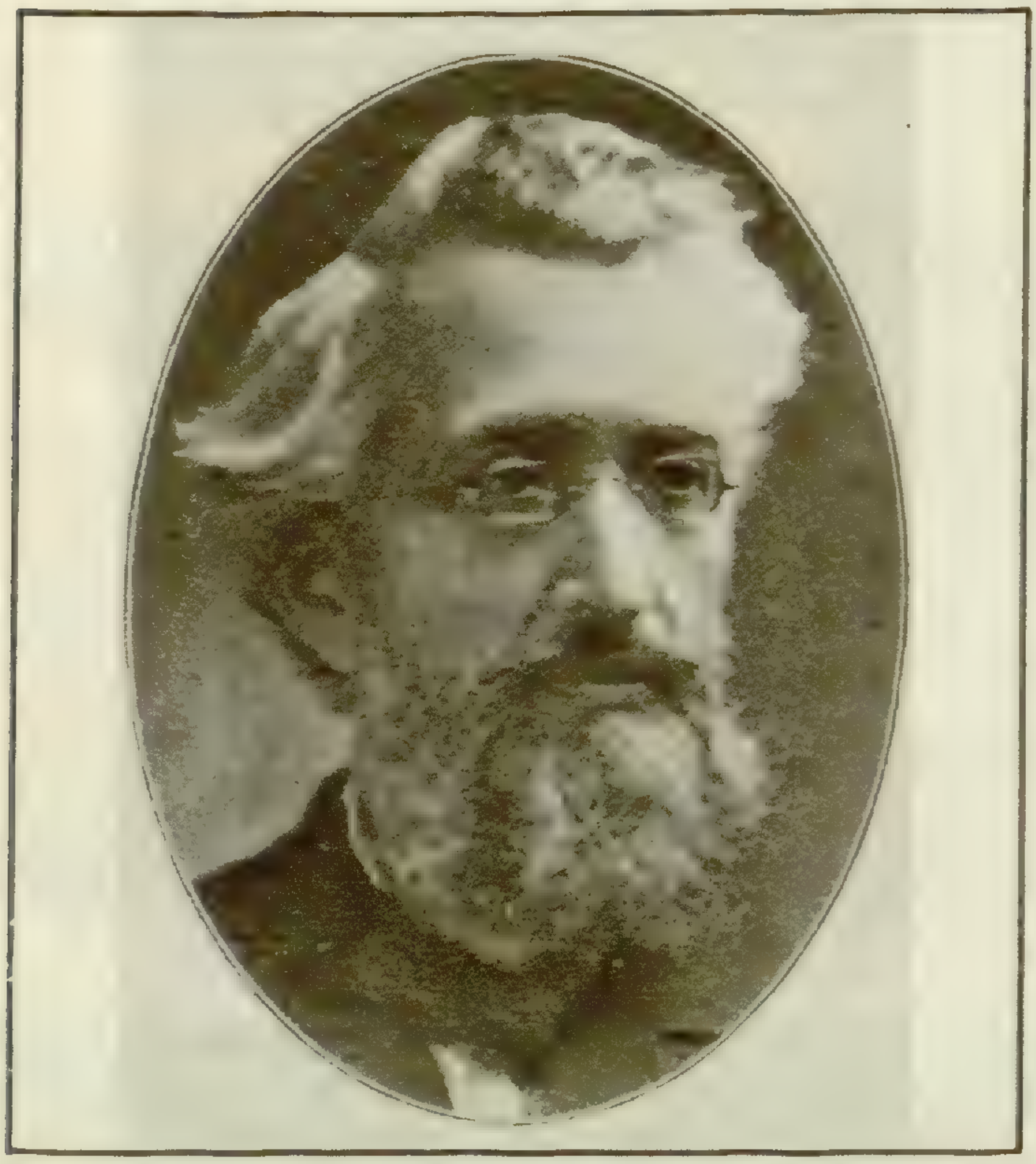
> ...Fine healthy trees at extremely low prices...Orders for $10 and upwards, if accompanied with the cash, will be packed free of charge and freight pre-paid to the nearest railway station...very low rates made to wholesale purchasers, and Granges...[48]

Dougall wrote in *The Canadian Horticulturist* in 1879 that, although he had never done hybridizing, he had made and named some plant selections.[49] Freek Vrugtman has listed Dougall selections: the 'Rose Bank' peach, about 1854; the 'Weeping Napoleon' cherry in 1871; the 'Dougall' or 'Dougall's Early' cherry in 1874; the 'Windsor' sweet cherry by 1881; the 'Dougall Best' yellow plum, by 1884; as well as a series of eight lilacs named for members of the British royal family, of which 'Albert the Good', 'Prince of Wales', and 'Princess Alexandra'—listed in Dougall's 1874 catalogue — are still in cultivation.[50]

Dougall was present at the annual meeting of the Fruit Growers' Association of Ontario in 1878 and, with fellow veteran nurserymen Charles Arnold of Paris and Delos Beadle of St. Catharines, took part in a discussion of "Best Trees Adapted for Hedges and Shelter." Each agreed that the Norway spruce was the most adaptable to a variety of soils and climates.[51] Each, in private conversation during the meeting, might also have agreed that their careers as nurserymen had been both challenging and fulfilling.



Charles Arnold (1818-1883), *The Canadian Horticulturist,* Vol. XIII, No. 10, October 1890. (Royal Botanical Gardens, Ontario, Canada)



Delos White Beadle (1823-1905), *The Canadian Horticulturist,* Vol. XXVII, No. 4, April 1904. (Royal Botanical Gardens, Ontario, Canada)

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[2]William W. Custead, *Catalogue of Fruit & Ornamental Trees, Flowering Shrubs, Garden Seeds and Green-House Plants, Bulbous Roots & Flower Seeds, Cultivated and For Sale at the Toronto Nursery, Dundas Street, near York* (York: William Lyon MacKenzie, 1827).

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[12]Crawford, "Some Early Niagara Peninsula Nurserymen," p. 64.

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[15]Custead, *Catalogue...*, p. [ii].

[16]Harold C. Cross, "Rose Growing in Colonial Canada," *The Canadian Rose Annual 1961* (Toronto: Canadian Rose Society, 1961), pp. 54-55.

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[23]"St. Catharines Nurseries, Notice" (advertisement), *Canada Farmer*, 2(June 15, 1870):239, and 2(July 15, 1870):279.

[24]"100,000 Fruit and Ornamental Trees For Sale at the New Dominion Nursery, Grimsby, Ont...." (advertisement), *Welland Tribune*, Aug. 25, 1876 et seq.

[25]*A.M. Smith's & Co.'s Catalogue of Small Fruit Plants, Grape Vines, &c. Grown at the Dominion Fruit Gardens, St. Catharines, Ontario, and Fruit and Ornamental Trees, Grown at the Dominion Nurseries, Grimsby, Ont.* (St. Catharines: E.S. Leavenworth, n.d. [c. 1881?], p. [ii].

[26]"The Fonthill Nursery" (advertisement), *Welland Tribune*, July 20, 1875 et seq.

[27]*Stone & Wellington, Toronto, Ontario, est. 1837, The Fonthill Nurseries* (Toronto: Stone & Wellington, n.d. [c. 1905?]), p. 5.

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[32]Pleasance Crawford. "The Ontario Home Landscape: 1890-1914" (typescript). Wegman Fellowship report, Department of Landscape Architecture, University of Toronto, 1981, pp. 42-44.

[33]"Report on Mr. Marston's Nursery," *Canadian Agriculturist,* II(Feb. 1850):42.

[34]"Lyn Nurseries" (advertisement), *The* [Toronto] *Globe*, Apr. 18, 1876 et seq.

[35]"The Belleville Nurseries," *The Canadian Horticulturist,* XXVII(Oct. 1894): 419-421.

[36]"The Town of Welland and Fonthill Nurseries," *The* [Toronto] *Saturday Globe*, July 23, 1892, pp. 1-2.

[37]Edwinna von Baeyer, pp. 131-141.

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[49]James Dougall, "On Raising Fine Fruits from Seed," *The Canadian Horticulturist*, II(Jan. 1879):4-9.

[50] Freek Vrugtman, "James Dougall, 1810-1888," *Proceedings, International Lilac Society, 11th Annual Convention, Ottawa, 28-29 May 1982* (International Lilac Society, 1982), pp. 28-32.

[51]"Best Trees Adapted for Hedges and Shelter," in: Ontario Fruit Growers' Association, *Annual Report for 1878*, pp. 33-34.

APPENDIX

A Preliminary Listing of Early Ontario Nurserymen

Upper Canada/Canada West/Ontario nurserymen who produced and sold plants for use outdoors before 1915 are the focus of this list. Seedsmen, florists, and landscape gardeners are included only if they were also nurserymen.

The list is mainly the compilation of an accumulation of research notes. In a few cases it gives beginning and ending dates for a firm; but in most cases it merely gives dates or references found by chance. It is presented not as a finished product but as a framework upon which to continue building a history of early Ontario nurseries.

The framework for the list was Ina Vrugtman's "Preliminary Listing of 19th Century Canadian Nurseries, Seed Business & Florists" (typescript), Hamilton, Royal Botanical Gardens, March 10, 1981. I am also indebted to Mrs. Vrugtman for her sharing of research notes and slides. I am grateful to John Burtniak, of Brock University Library, for passing on copies of nursery-related additions to his personal collection of catalogues, post cards, trade cards, and illustrated covers; and to fellow Ontario garden history researcher Dana Hopson, who told me about the nursery references in John Goldie's letters.

abbreviations used:

C. Ag'st = *Canadian Agriculturist*
C. Hort. = *Canadian Horticulturist*
C. Farmer = *Canada Farmer*
Cdn. Florist = *Canadian Florist*
MTL = Metropolitan Toronto Library
RBG = Royal Botanical Gardens
CCHHS = Centre for Canadian Historical Horticultural Studies

NAME OF FIRM	PRINCIPALS	ONTARIO LOCATION	SELECTED DATES/ REFERENCES	COMMENTS
William Adam	same	Yonge-Street-Road, York	ads in *Farmers' Journal and Welland Canal Intelligencer*, 1826; listing in York directory, 1833-34	"gardner and seedsman"; "Nursery Seedsman & Market-gardener"
Arkona Horticultural Farm	W.W. Hilborn	Arkona; later Leamington	1884-1886 nursery catalogues & price list at RBG, from Arkona; *C. Hort.* article, 1894, pp.306-308, gives Hilborn's address as Leamington.	nursery stock. Hilborn described in 1894 article as "prominent Canadian horticulturist" & "grower of strawberries and peaches" had Experimental Farm c.1905
Arkona Nurseries	B. Gott	Arkona	Gott, of Arkona Nurseries, Arkona, addressed Fruit Growers' Assn. of Ont. in 1880.	trees? (his address was on "Forest Tree Seeds and Seedlings")
Arnold Park Nursery	D. Caldwell & Sons	Galt	ad in Illustrated Historical Atlas of Waterloo & Wellington Counties, Ontario, 1877	general nursery stock
Auburn Nurseries; Auburn Nurseries Ltd.	W.O. Burgess (and others)	Queenston, Simcoe, and (as of 1912) Oakville	ads in *C. Hort.*,1912 & 1913	general nursery stock including "pedigreed cherries" and ornamentals selected by Roderick Cameron on a trip to nurseries in Great Britain and the Continent in the winter of 1912-13
Charles Baker	same	Ridout Street, London	ad in *C.Florist*, Aug. 15, 1906	"florist & nurseryman"
The D.W. Beadle Nursery Company	D.W Beadle; and Thomas Keyes, Frederick R. Parnall, and Neil Morrison	St. Catharines	1887-1895	general nursery stock (see also St. Catharines Nurseries)
Belleville Nurseries	William C. Reid	Belleville	listed as nurseryman as early as 1894 and as late as 1909 in Belleville city directories; subject of a *C. Hort.* article Oct. 27, 1904, pp.419-21.	hardy ornamental stock, with 35 acres in cultivation in 1904
Chas. H. Biggar	same	Drummondville	ads in *Welland Tribune,* spring 1875	"peach trees"
William Bond	same?	York	"so early as 1800", according to J.R. Robertson's *Landmarks of Toronto* (Toronto: 1894) v.I,pp. 290-91	fruit trees
Brockton Nurseries; also John Gray & Co.	John Gray Sr. & John Gray, Jr.?	Toronto	ad in D.W. Beadle's *Canadian Fruit, Flower, and Kitchen Gardener* (Toronto; 1872); ad in *The* [Toronto] *Globe*, Apr. 18, 1876. John Gray Jr. was successor in nursery business to John Gray Sr., at latter's death in 1878, according to biographical sketch in *History of Toronto and County of York, Ontario* (Toronto: 1885) v.2, p.56.	"Nurserymen and Florists" with "a choice stock of Fruit and Ornamental Trees, Shrubs, & c."
Brown Brothers Company, Nurserymen	Edward C. Morris, Pres., & David Z. Morris, Sec.-Treas.	Ridgeville	1890-1922	general nursery stock. parent company in Rochester, NY
John A. Bruce & Co.	John A. Bruce	Hamilton	est. 1850, with extensive operation involving production of seed, nursery stock, & greenhouse plants until 1871 when nursery part of business was purchased by David Murray (see Rosedale Nurseries.)	nurserymen and seed merchants, 1850-1871; seed merchants only, after 1871
John Calcott	same	Lambeth	ad in *C. Farmer,* Aug. I, 1864, p. 224	"white or hedge willows ...any number of cuttings"
John A. Campbell	same	Simcoe	ad in *C. Hort.*, 1902	gladioli. catalogue offered. (see also: Maple Avenue Gardens.)
C.W.F. Carpenter (see also: Grape Dale Orchards and Nurseries.)	same	Winona	1905 confirmation of order postcard, in John Burtniak Collection	nursery stock
A.R. Cass	same	L'Orignal (see also: Josiah C. Marston.)	ad in *C. Farmer*, Aug. 1, 1864, p. 224	"choice strawberry plants by mail"
Cavers Bros. (see also: Douglas Gardens.)	same?	Galt	ad in *C. Hort.*, 1901	"dealers in Nursery Stock"
Central Nursery: Central Nurseries	A.G. Hull & Son; then Lewis J. Hull; then David J. Hull	St. Catharines	c. 1880-c. 1974	general nursery stock
Chase Brothers Company of Ontario, Ltd.	same?	Colborne	"1857-1901", according to trade card in John Burtniak Collection; RBG has tree agent's case, with no date.	"Nurserymen"; general nursery stock

NAME OF FIRM	PRINCIPALS	ONTARIO LOCATION	SELECTED DATES/ REFERENCES	COMMENTS
City Nurseries	Henry Slight	Toronto	est. 1876, according to biographical sketch in *History of Toronto and County of York, Ontario* (Toronto: 1885) v.I, p. 498; regular listings in Toronto city directories, 1880-1898	1876-1890 as nurseryman; then solely as florist
M.S. Cochran	same	St. Catharines	ads in St. Catharines *Journal*, spring-summer 1844	"100 thrifty young mountain ash trees"
The Connon Floral Co. Ltd.; then John Connon Co. Ltd.	John Connon	Stoney Creek & Hamilton; now Waterdown	took over The Webster Floral Company Limited (which see) in 1906; florist & nursery business to present.	florists & nurserymen
Cremorne Gardens	Edward D. James	St. Catharines	listings in St. Catharines directories as nurseryman, 1870's	gardener, nurseryman, and florist
Davidson's Nurseries	The Davidson Family; then Cecil and Constance (Davidson) Danielson	Burlington	est. before 1900, closed 1974, according to article in *Landscape/Paysage Canada*, July/Aug. 1974, p.12.	fruit trees; then also ornamental trees & perennial plants
Deer Park Conservatories	Grainger Bros.	Deer Park and Toronto	1898 catalogue of "Seeds, Plants, Bulbs" at University of Guelph Library; still in business, as Grainger's Flowers	primarily seeds and tender plants, but also shrubs, vines, and hardy perennials.
Dominion Nursery	A.M. Smith	Grimsby	ads in *Welland Tribune*, summer 1876	general nursery stock
Dominion Fruit Gardens; Dominion Nurseries (Smith & Reed)	A.M. Smith & Edwin L. Reed	St. Catharines	firm name registration, 1899; ads in *C. Hort.*, 1901-05	general nursery stock
Douglas Gardens	John L. Cavers (d. 1916); succeeded in 1917 by Erick Erickson (see also: Cavers Bros.)	Oakville	reference to a "Mr. Cavers" as a nurseryman in *Annual Report* of the Fruit Growers' Assn. of Ont. for 1880, p. 65. *C. Hort.* ads for Douglas Gardens, 1911 through 1918.	perennials & bedding plants
The Fenwick Nurseries	Harvey Wesley Wills & Osmand Greenwood	Pelham Township	firm name registration, 1914; O. Greenwood dissolved from firm, 1918	"nurserymen"
Fisher & Barron; Barrons	Chas. Fisher & William Barron; later, John & Elinor Emmons	Fonthill	c. 1900? to present. firm name registration (Fisher & Barron), 1919	specialists in clematis and climbing roses
James Fleming & Co.	James Fleming	Yonge Street, Toronto	This firm name seems to have appeared when Fleming, established since 1837 as Yonge Street Nursery, moved into Agricultural Hall, c.1862. An article on "Mr. Fleming's Nursery," *Ont. Farmer*, May 1871, described his business in detail.	Fleming's emphasis was on seeds and tender plants, but he grew a few hardy items.
Wm. Fleming, Nurseryman	same	Owen Sound	*C. Hort.* ads, 1905, 1912; *Fruit Grower* ad, 1911	"hardy small fruits... also Garden Roots, including Rhubarb, Asparagus, etc..."
The Fonthill Nursery (D'Everardo & Page)	Dexter D'Everardo & William Page		1870-1876	general nursery stock
The Fonthill Nurseries (Stone & Wellington)				general nursery stock
Edward Morris & Co.	Edward Morris, Squire W. Hill, Samuel J. Wetherald, (& Balfour?)	Fonthill	1876-1879	
Morris, Stone, & Wellington	Edward Morris, George A. Stone, & William E. Wellington	"	1879-1902	
Morris & Wellington	Edward Morris & William E. Wellington	"	1902-1910	
Wellington & Davidson	F.W. Wellington & S.E. Davidson; later, Fred Davidson, William Wellington	"	1910-1968	
John Forsyth	same	Box 1135 Toronto Post Office	ads in *C. Farmer* Oct. 15, 1869 & Mar. 15, 1870	"grape vines"
Charles Franks	same	Yonge-street-road and Market-Place, York	ad in *Colonial Advocate* Mar. 5, 1830; listing in 1833-4 York directory	"garden seeds, plants, and roots"; "Nursery seedsman and Market-gardener"
Fruitland Nurseries	G.M. Hill; then G.M. Hill & Son	Fruitland	ads in *Weekly Fruit Grower*, 1908-1911	general nursery stock

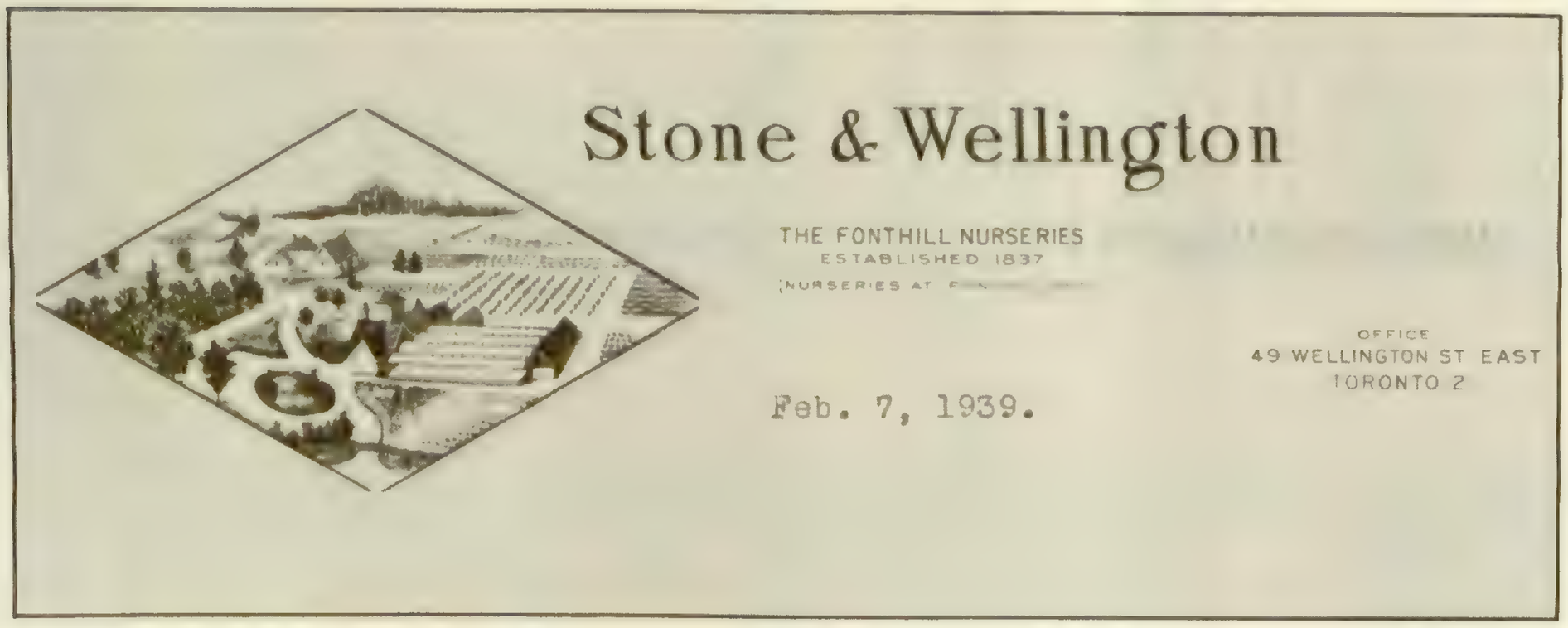
NAME OF FIRM	PRINCIPALS	ONTARIO LOCATION	SELECTED DATES/ REFERENCES	COMMENTS
A. Gilchrist	same	"Oaklea", Toronto Junction	ad in *C. Florist,* Feb. 15, 1906	*Clematis paniculata,* houseplants
John Goldie	same	"Greenfield", near Ayr	1840's through 1860's (and beyond?). John Goldie papers (in MTL Baldwin Room) mention "the nursery" and discuss buying, selling, and exchanging plants.	fruit trees, ornamental trees and shrubs, herbaceous perennials, greenhouse plants. many plant names, incl. some varietal names, mentioned in letters to son James Goldie
Alexander Gordon	same	"...the trees may be seen at Mr. Drummond's Grounds, corner of Yonge and Richmond Streets", York	ads in *The* [York] *Patriot,* March-May 1834	"...has recently arrived in Toronto with a most extensive assortment of [general nursery stock] and...is about to establish a permanent nursery in the vicinity..."
A.W. Graham	same	St. Thomas	ads in *C. Hort.*,1901, 1903	trees
E.O. Graham, Nurseryman	same?	Pelham	Toronto sales office listed in Toronto directories, 1890-1895	Graham's residence listed at Rochester, NY, in 1890 directory. (see also Pelham Nursery Company.)
Graham Bros.	same	Ottawa	1898 catalogue of "Seeds, Plants, Bulbs, etc." at University of Guelph library	primarily seeds, but also shrubs, vines, small fruits, etc.
The Grange Conservatories	John Gray, Sr.	Toronto	*Catalogue of Greenhouse Plants... cultivated and for Sale by John Gray, at the Grange Conservatories"* dated Feb. 2, 1846, in MTL Baldwin Room	mentions "...choice collection of Fruit Trees...Flowering Shrubs, Herbaceous Plants...Hovey's Seedling Strawberry, European Grape Vines...&c."
Grape Dale Orchards & Nurseries	C.P. Carpenter & Sons; then C.W.F. Carpenter	Winona (and Grimsby?)	acquired H.C. Kerman's Grimsby Nursery in 1899; ads in *C. Hort.*, 1905	general nursery stock
The Grimsby Nursery	A.M. Smith & Chas. Edward	Grimsby	1856-1868	general nursery stock (see also: Dominion Nurseries; A.M. Smith & Co.)
Woolverton & Smith	Woolverton; then A.M. Smith & then	"	1887-1890	
Smith & Kerman	Dymore Kerman; then			
Smith & Kerman	A.M. Smith & Herbert C. Kerman; then	"	1890?	
	Herbert C. Kerman & Edward A. Rainey; then	"	1897-1899	
	C.P. Carpenter & Sons	Grimsby (and Winona)	1899-?	
Grimsby Nursery Co. (see also: C.W.F. Carpenter; Grape Dale Orchards & Nurseries	C.W. F. Carpenter	Grimsby	firm name registration, 1904	
Henry Harris Groff	same	Simcoe	1890's through 1933. Groff was a banker by profession, but was also a respected plant hybridist. RBG has one of his gladioli lists.	hybrid gladioli and cannas
Guelph Nursery	E. Hubbard	Guelph	mentioned 1848 & 1853 in *Agriculturist & Canadian Journal:* I(Sept. 15, 1848):151, *C. Agriculturist:* V(1853):23	fruit trees
Hamilton Gardens	John Wade	Port Hope	W.H. Smith, *Canada, past, present, and future*...v.2, 1851, p.205; *C. Agriculturist* letter to the editor, VIII(Apr. 1856):92	Smith:"...nursery grounds called the 'Hamilton Gardens' about two miles east from Port Hope..."
The Hamilton Nurseries	Warren A. Holton	Hamilton	est. by 1862; still in business in 1895, described as comprising 50 acres of land in *C. Farmer,* May 1, 1867, pp. 141-42	wholesale & retail fruit & ornamental trees, shrubs, & herbaceous plants
Helderleigh Fruits Farms and Nurseries; Helderleigh Nurseries; E.D. Smith & Sons	E.D. Smith; then E.D. Smith, Armand Smith, & Leon Smith	Winona	1882-1947. The name Helderleigh Nurseries was abandoned around 1908.	general nursery stock
Highland Nurseries	Jess McCombs, Mngr.	Fonthill	mentioned in *History of the Village of Fonthill,* (1944;1963)	
Hollydale Nurseries	John Sharman	Oakville	photo of entrance, n.d. but c. 1900, at Archives of Ontario, picture collection #S17031	general nursery stock?
Humber Nurseries (See Sheridan Nurseries)				
S. Hunter & Son	same	Scotland	*C. Hort.* ads, c.1900-1904	dahlias
Imperial Nurseries	William Julian	Welland County	firm name registration, 1918	

NAME OF FIRM	PRINCIPALS	ONTARIO LOCATION	SELECTED DATES/ REFERENCES	COMMENTS
Island View Strawberry Plant Nurseries	Chas. H. Snow	Cummings Bridge	ad in *C. Hort.*, 1905	strawberry plants
Jas. E. Johnson	same	Simcoe	ad in *Fruit Grower*, 1911	"Strawberry plants"
James Johnston	same	Norval	listing in *Mitchell's Toronto Directory for 1864-5*	listed as "nurseryman" and also available, through Toronto nurseryman George Leslie or Toronto architect William Kauffman, as a landscape gardener
Charles Kelly	same	Hamilton	c. 1848 cited by Vrugtman	"nurseryman"
Kingston Nursery	David Nicol (which see); (sometimes wrongly spelled Nichol).	Cataraqui	c. 1865 to 1892 or beyond. [Belleville] *Intelligencer* ad, Oct. 13, 1871; *C. Hort.* biographical sketch, May 1892, pp. 132-34	fruit & ornamental trees. Nicol was also a landscape gardener, and superintendent of Cataraqui Cemetery.
Lake View Nursery	John Gray Sr.	Toronto note: J.R. Robertson, in *Landmarks of Toronto* (Toronto: 1894) v.I, p. 522, stated that Toronto's Lakeview Avenue was named "...after the well known 'nursery' of that name."	ads in Apr., May, June 1855 *C.Agst.;* prizes won by John Gray of "Lakeview Nursery" at Provincial Exhibition, 1858; paper on orchard houses by "Mr. John Gray, Lake View Nursery", published in *C. Agst.*, Apr. 2, 1860	general nursery stock
William Lambert	same	King St. E., Toronto	listed in Toronto city directory, 1856	"nurseryman"
John Logan	same	Yonge Street/ Church Street, Toronto	listing in 1843-4 Toronto city directory	nurseryman and seedsman at first; then seedsman
Lyn Nurseries	James Cumming	Lyn (see also: David Nicol)	"est. 1861", according to its *Globe* ads, spring 1876	fine healthy fruit trees trees..."likely to grow in this northern climate..."
John E. McCombs & Son, Nurserymen	same	Fenwick	1930's	general nursery stock .
J.H. McCombs Nurseries	J.H. McCombs (see also: Highland Nurseries; J.E. McCombs & Son, Nurserymen; and Union Nurseries.)	Fonthill	teens or early 1920's trade card in John Burtniak Collection	
McConnell Nursery Company Ltd.	Hilliard L. McConnell, joined by Spencer D. McConnell and, later, D.S. McConnell	Port Burwell	1912; joined with Simpsons Sears Ltd. in 1978, as it is still	fruit trees & small fruits; later, general nursery stock
Allan McIntosh	same	Dundela	1835 to ?	propagation and dissemination of the 'McIntosh Red' apple, a seedling found and transplanted by his father, John McIntosh.
Maple Avenue Gardens	Campbell Bros. (see also: John A. Campbell; Henry Harris Groff.)	Simcoe	*Cdn. Glad. Soc. Annual*, Feb. 1928, p. 61	gladioli
Maple Shade Nurseries	R. Kittlewell	Westminster	ad in *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Middlesex, Ont.*, 1878, p. 71	general nursery stock
Maplehurst Nursery	P. Blanchard	Grimsby	ad in *C. Hort.*, 1901	trumpet creepers. note: Blanchard was Linus Woolverton's foreman at Maplehurst.
Josiah C. Marston	same	L'Orignal (see also: A.R. Cass.)	"Report on Mr. Marston's Nursery", *C. Ag'st*, II(Feb. 1850):42	fruit trees & maple sugar
Mitchell Bros. (see also: Ontario Gardens.)	same	Port Hope	ads and mentions in *Port Hope Guide*, 1871	bedding, house, and vegetable plants
The Mitchell Nursery Co.	?	Mitchell	ads in *Cdn. Florist*, 1905-1913 (and beyond?)	houseplants. (other nursery stock?)
E. & J. Moore	same	Hamilton	1851 list at RBG, according to Vrugtman	nurseryman, lumber merchant, etc.
Edward Morris & Co.	Edward Morris	Ridgeville	ad in *Welland Tribune*, spring 1875	French roses (see also: Fonthill Nurseries)
Mt. Hope Nurseries	Robert Smiley	Hamilton	1848 cited by Vrugtman	(branch of Ellwanger & Barry's Mt. Hope Nurseries at Rochester?)
David Murray, Nurseryman & Florist (see also: Rosebank Nurseries.)	same	Hamilton	1873 catalogue at RBG	general nursery stock

NAME OF FIRM	PRINCIPALS	ONTARIO LOCATION	SELECTED DATES/ REFERENCES	COMMENTS
B.R. Nelles	same	Grimsby	listed in *Historical Atlas of Lincoln and Welland Counties*, 1876	"Nurseryman & Fruit Grower"
Niagara Falls Nurseries	B. Morden	Niagara Falls South	ads in *Welland Tribune*, winter-spring, 1894	"ornamental trees"
David Nicol (see also: Kingston Nursery.)	same	Lyn (see also: Lyn Nurseries)	c. 1854--c. 1865? (see biographical sketch of Nicol). in *C. Hort.*, May 1892, pp. 132-34	fruit & ornamental trees
The Ontario Gardens	E.M. Mitchell (see also: Mitchell Bros.)	Port Hope	1893, 1910-1921 catalogues & wholesale price list at RBG	wholesale & retail general nursery stock
The Ontario Nurseries	John Elmer Crow & Andrew J. Bea	North Pelham	firm name registration, 1899	"nurserymen"
William Page, Nurseryman	same	Fonthill; Welland	listings in *Province of Ontario Gazetteer and Directory, 1869;* and Evans' *Gazetteer & Business Directory of Lincoln & Welland Counties,* 1879	(see also: The Fonthill Nursery.)
Paris Nurseries	Charles Arnold	Paris	est. 1853, see: *C. Hort.* 13(Oct. 1890): 282-83; and *Standard Cyclopedia of Horticulture,* v.3, 1915, p.1564	a widely respected hybridist & nurseryman, specializing in fruits
Richard Parris	same	York	listing in 1833-4 York directory	"Market-garden and Nursery"
John S. Pearce & Co.	John S. Pearce	London	1898 catalogue of "Seeds" at University of Guelph library	primarily seeds, but also shrubs, vines, small fruits, and hardy perennials
Pelham Nursery Company	Earle Stanley Wellington; later, Earle Stanley Wellington & Stanley C. Wellington	Pelham	"est. 1886", according to an early 20th century catalogue; "successors to E.O. Graham", according to 1896 Toronto directory; listings in Toronto directories, 1896-1950 (& beyond?)	general nursery stock. note: Toronto office at same address (49 Wellington East) as Stone & Wellington
Pineland Park Gardens	?	Chester Ave., Scarboro Hts.	ad in *C. Hort.*, 1908, p. 89	"hardy herbaceous perennials"
Quetton St. George, Merchant	same	York	ad in *York Gazette*, Feb. 20, 1808	seeds; peach, "plumb", nectarine, apricot, pear, and quince trees
Chas. S. Racey	same	Grimsby	listing in Platt's *Great Western Gazetteer and Business Directory,* 1868	"nurseryman"
John Reid	same	Sarnia	ads in *C. Farmer* for "Reid's New Double Hollyhock Seed", 1872	"Plant Nursery"
Renfrew Fruit & Floral Company	?	Arnprior	1878 catalogue (in private collection)	"large and small fruit, ornamental trees and shrubs, Grape Vines, Bedding Plants, Roses, &c."
Renfrew Nurseries	?	Renfrew	ad in *C. Hort.*, April 1905, p. 162	
T.C. Robinson	same	Owen Sound	1888 catalogue at RBG; 1889 catalogue (in private collection) says first spring catalogue sent out 7 years ago	fruit trees, small fruits, grape vines, etc.
Rosebank Nursery	James Dougall (see also: Windsor Nurseries.)	Amherstburg	1840's - 1853	fruit trees, shrubs, and flowers
Rosebank Nursery	John Holder	St. Catharines	ads in *St. Catharines Constitutional*, summer 1859; listings in St. Catharines directories, 1860's; ads in *Welland Tribune,* 1889-1891	"florist & gardener"; "nursery"; "nurseryman, seedsman, & florist"; "florist"
Rosedale Nurseries	David Murray	Hamilton	described as "nurseryman of Hamilton" in *Cdn. Ag'st,* Aug. 1861, p.500. in 1871, became "successor to the nursery business of John Bruce & Co." (which see). *C. Farmer* ads, 1871, 1873.	nurseryman & florist
Rowancroft Gardens	Mary Eliza Blacklock, then also Minerva Castle	Meadowvale	est. 1914; through 1960's	herbaceous perennial specialists
Ryerse Bros.	same	Simcoe	ad in *C. Hort.*, 1914	perennials
St. Catharines Nursery; St. Catharines Nurseries	Chauncey Beadle; then Chauncey Beadle & Delos White Beadle; then Delos White Beadle; then Delos White Beadle & Thomas Buchanan	St. Catharines	1830's-c.1854; c.1854-1863; 1863-1870; 1870-?	general nursery stock

NAME OF FIRM	PRINCIPALS	ONTARIO LOCATION	SELECTED DATES/ REFERENCES	COMMENTS
B.W. Secord	same	Fonthill	description as "the growing nursery business of B.W. Secord" in *The St. Catharines, Pelham & Welland Electric Railway Company Prospectus*, c. 1905	
Sheridan Nurseries	Howard B. and L.A. Dunington-Grubb and, subsequently, others,	Clarkson	n.b. the Grubbs first established "Humber Nurseries", in 1911; they bought the land near Clarkson in 1914 and changed the nurseries' name at that time.	general nursery stock
J.A. Simmers; then Simmers'	Joseph A. Simmers, joined and succeeded by sons Anton and Hermann Simmers	Toronto	1856-1919 (and beyond?). see *Catalogue of Dutch Flowering Bulbs,* 1860, at Archives of Ontario; and *General Annual Seed Catalogue,* 1898, at University of Guelph library. see also biographical sketch in *History of Toronto and County of York, Ontario* (Toronto: 1885), v. I, pp. 424-25.	primarily seeds, but also bulbs and general nursery stock
A.M. Smith & Co.	A.M. Smith & Dennis Vanduzer	Grimsby	firm name registration, 1881	
Smith & Kerman	A.M. Smith & Dymore Kerman (see also: Dominion Nursery; Dominion Fruit Gardens.)	St. Catharines	firm name registration, 1887; prizes offered in Toronto Horticultural Society show, 1888, firm name dissolution, 1890	
The Specialty Nursery Company	Charles Ernest Woolverton	Grimsby	"established 1905" in its catalogue; firm name dissolution registered, 1907	"devoted to the propagation of specialties in hardy perennials and fruits"
Standard Nursery	Anson Roszell	Fonthill	firm name registration, 1930	
Star Nurseries, also called The Thomas W. Bowman and Son Co., Ltd.	Thomas W. Bowman and Son	Ridgeville	c. 1873	general nursery stock
James Stock	same	16 Palace Street, Toronto	1862-3, cited by Vrugtman	nurseryman, seedsman, & florist
Taylor Nurseries	Isabella C.C. Taylor	Lincoln County	firm name registration, 1933	
Samuel Taylor	same	Fonthill	said by some accounts to have had a nursery, established 1837	
Toronto Nurseries	George Leslie Sr.;	Toronto	1842-44	general nursery stock
	George Leslie Sr., in partnership with George Ellwanger and Patrick Barry of Rochester, N.Y.;	"	1844-48	"
	George Leslie Sr., joined by son George Leslie Jr. and, at times, by other son J. Knox Leslie; then	"	1849-c.60	"
	succeeded in business by J. McPherson Ross & Son	"	c.1860-1891 or beyond ads in *C. Hort.*,Oct. 1912, Mar. 1913, etc.	"
The Toronto Nursery	William W. Custead;	Dundas Street, near York	est. 1811, according to *Catalogue of Fruit & Ornamental Trees, Flowering Shrubs,* etc., 1827, in MTL/Baldwin Room; ad, in York directory, 1833-4; broadside *Compendium Catalogue of Fruit & Ornamental Trees & Shrubs*...etc., April 1837, in MTL/Baldwin Room	general nursery stock
	then Charles Barnhart			
Joseph Tweddle	same	Fruitland; Stoney Creek	ad in *C. Hort.*, 1905; and in *Weekly Fruit Grower*, 1911	"Grape-vine Specialist"; "Grape Vines"
Union Nurseries	A.M. Mosley & J.H. McCombs; later, Harold M. Mosley	Fonthill	in business "for years" according to 1920's? catalogue; still in business in 1940's	general nursery stock
Dennis Vanduzer	same	Grimsby	listing in *Historical Atlas of Lincoln and Welland Counties,* 1876	"nurseryman & Fruit Grower" (see also: A.M. Smith & Co.)
H.P. Van Wagner	same	Stoney Creek	ad in *C. Hort.*, Mar.,1912	"gladioli & dahlias"

NAME OF FIRM	PRINCIPALS	ONTARIO LOCATION	SELECTED DATES/ REFERENCES	COMMENTS
Watts Nursery Co.	Frank C. Williams & Thomas Watts; then Thomas Watts & Chas. E. Plumb; then Thomas Watts, Chas E. Plumb, & John H. Tweedy, then Thomas Watts, Sarah E. Plumb, & H. Tweedy	Welland County	firm name registrations, period 1918-1922	
The Webster Floral Company, Limited (see also: The Connon Floral Co. Ltd.)	(Webster Brothers seed business, est. Hamilton 1883?)	Hamilton	regular & aggressive advertising in *C. Hort.* in early 1900's, taken over by John Connon c.1906	wholesale & retail ornamental shrubs & hardy perennials
The Welland Nursery Company	Charles H.K. Baillie & Stewart E. Davidson; also Fred W. Wellington	Welland County	firm name registration, 1923	
J.F. Westland	same	Yonge St., Toronto	listing in 1843 city directory	"nursery grounds"; (also had seed store at 168 King St.)
Whiting Nursery Co.	Herbert M. Whiting	Lincoln & Welland Counties	firm name registration, (in both counties), 1912	
Windsor Nurseries	James Dougall (see also: Rosebank Nurseries.)	Windsor	1853-1876 or beyond	general nursery stock
Winona Nursery Company	J. Wesley Smith & Ira E. Vanduzer; then J. Wesley Smith & Son(s)	Winona	1886-87 price list in John Burtniak Collection; listing in Morrey's Directory, 1888; ad in *C. Hort.*, 1890; listing in Union Co.'s *Farmer's & Business Directory*, 1895; ads in *C. Hort.*, 1902-1905 (& beyond?)	general nursery stock
J.H. Wismer	same	Port Elgin	ads in *C. Hort.*., 1901-1910	general nursery stock, with "northern grown trees"
Yonge Street Nursery and Flower Garden; Yonge Street Nursery	*James Fleming*	*Yonge Street, Toronto*	est. 1837. ad, ***British Colonist,*** Mar. 1845, mentions "...Flower Roots, Fruit and Ornamental Trees..."; letter to editor of *C. Ag'st,* Mar. 1, 1849, signed "James Fleming, Yonge Street Nursery, Toronto, C.W."; ad, *C. Ag'st,* Mar. 1851, for James Fleming, Yonge Street Nursery: "Fruit Trees, Seeds, etc."	general nursery stock



Bird's-eye view of Fonthill Nurseries on letterhead used in late 1930s. (Royal Botanical Gardens, Ontario, Canada)

For this nurseryman	see entry under
Adams, William	same
Arnold, Charles	Paris Nurseries
Baillie, Charles H. Kingsley	Welland Nursery Company
Baker, Charles	same
Balfour, ?	Fonthill Nurseries
Barnhart, Charles	Toronto Nursery
Barron, William	Fisher & Barron; Barrons
Bea, Andrew J.	Ontario Nurseries
Beadle, Chauncey	St. Catharines Nursery
Beadle, D.W.	D.W. Beadle Nursery Company; St. Catharines Nursery
Biggar, Chas. H.	same
Blacklock, Mary Eliza	Rowancroft Gardens
Blanchard, P.	Maplehurst Nursery
Bond, William	same
Bowman, Thomas W., & Son	Thomas W. Bowman & Son Co., Ltd.; Star Nurseries
Bruce, John A.	John A. Bruce & Co.
Buchanan, Thomas	St. Catharines Nursery
Burgess, W.O.	Auburn Nurseries
Calcott, John	same
Caldwell, D., & Sons	Arnold Park Nursery
Campbell Bros.	Maple Avenue Gardens
Campbell, John A.	same
Carpenter, C.P., & Sons	Grape Dale Orchards & Nurseries; Grimsby Nursery
Carpenter, C.W.F.	Grape Dale Orchards & Nurseries; Grimsby Nursery Co.
Cass, A.R.	same
Castle, Minerva	Rowancroft Gardens
Cavers Bros.	same
Cavers, John L.	Douglas Gardens
Chase Brothers	Chase Brothers Company of Ontario, Ltd.
Cochran, M.S.	same
Connon, John	Connon Floral Co. Ltd.; John Connon Co. Ltd.
Crow, John Elmer	Ontario Nurseries
Cumming, James	Lyn Nurseries
Custead, William C.	Toronto Nursery
Danielson, Cecil	Davidson's Nurseries
Danielson, Constance Davidson	Davidson's Nurseries
Davidson Family	Davidson's Nurseries
Davidson, Fred	Fonthill Nurseries
Davidson, S.E.	Fonthill Nurseries
Davidson, Stewart E.	Welland Nursery Company
D'Everardo, Dexter	Fonthill Nursery
Dougall, James	Rosebank Nursery; Windsor Nurseries
Dunington-Grubb, Howard B.	Humber Nurseries; Sheridan Nurseries
Dunington-Grubb, L.A.	Humber Nurseries
Emmons, Eleanor	Sheridan Nurseries
Emmons, John	Fisher & Barron; Barrons
Erickson, Erick	Fisher & Barron; Barrons
Fisher, Chas.	Douglas Gardens
Fleming, James	Fisher & Barron
Fleming, Wm.	James Fleming & Co.; Yonge Street Nursery and Flower Garden
Forsyth, John	same
Franks, Charles	same
	same

Gilchrist, A.	same
Goldie, John	same
Gordon, Alexander	same
Gott, B.	Arkona Nurseries
Graham, A.W.	same
Graham Bros.	same
Graham, E.O.	same
Grainger Bros.	Deer Park Conservatories
Gray, John, Jr.	Brockton Nurseries
Gray, John, Sr.	Brockton Nurseries
	Grange Conservatories;
	Lake View Nursery
Greenwood, Osmand	Fenwick Nurseries
Groff, Henry Harris	same
Hilborn, W.W.	Arkona Horticultural Farm
Hill, G.M., & Son	Fruitland Nurseries
Hill, Squire, W.	Fonthill Nurseries
Holder, John	Rosebank Nursery
Holton, Warren A.	Hamilton Nurseries
Hubbard, E.	Guelph Nursery
Hull, A.G.	Central Nursery
Hull, David J.	Central Nursery
Hull, Lewis J.	Central Nursery
Hunter, S., & Son	same
James, Edward D.	Cremorne Gardens
Johnson, Jas. E.	same
Johnston, James	same
Julian, William	Imperial Nurseries
Kelly, Charles	same
Kerman, Dymore	Grimsby Nursery;
	A.M. Smith & Co.
Kerman, Herbert C.	Grimsby Nursery
Keyes, Thomas	D.W. Beadle Nursery Company
Kittlewell, R.	Maple Shade Nurseries
Lambert, William	same
Leslie, George Sr., & Sons	Toronto Nurseries
Logan, John	same
McCombs, Jess	Highland Nurseries
McCombs, John E., & Son	same
McCombs, J.H.	J.H. McCombs Nurseries;
	Union Nurseries
McConnell, D.S.	McConnell Nursery Co. Ltd.
McConnell, Hilliard L.	McConnell Nursery Co. Ltd.
McConnell, Spencer D.	McConnell Nursery Co. Ltd.
McIntosh, Allan	same
Marston, Josiah C.	same
Mitchell Bros.	same
Mitchell, E.M.	Ontario Gardens
Morden, B.	Niagara Falls Nurseries
Moore, E. & J.	same
Morris, David Z.	Brown Brothers Company
Morris, Edward	Fonthill Nurseries
	Edward Morris & Co.
Morris, Edward C.	Brown Brothers Company
Morrison, Neil	D.W. Beadle Nursery Co.
Mosley, A.M.	Union Nurseries
Mosley, Harold M.	Union Nurseries
Murray, David	same; Rosedale Nurseries
Nelles, B.R.	same
Nicol, David	Kingston Nursery; same
Page, William	Fonthill Nursery; same
Parnall, Frederick R.	D.W. Beadle Nursery Company
Parris, Richard	same
Pearce, John S.	John S. Pearce & Co.
Plumb, Charles E.	Watts Nursery Co.
Plumb, Sarah E.	Watts Nursery Co.
Racey, Chas. S.	same
Rainey, Edward A.	Grimsby Nursery

Reed, Edwin L.	Dominion Fruit Gardens;
	Dominion Nursery
Reid, John	same
Reid, William C.	Belleville Nurseries
Robinson, T.C.	same
Ross, J. McPherson, & Son	Toronto Nurseries
Roszell, Anson	Standard Nursery
Ryerse Bros.	same
St. George, Quetton	same
Secord, B.W.	same
Sharman, John	Hollydale Nurseries
Simmers, Anton	J.A. Simmers
Simmers, Hermann	J.A. Simmers
Simmers, J.A.	same
Slight, Henry	City Nurseries
Smiley, Robert	Mt. Hope Nurseries
Smith, A.M.	Dominion Fruit Gardens; Dominion Nursery; Grimsby Nursery
Smith, Armand	A.M. Smith & Co.; Smith & Kerman
Smith, E.D.	Helderleigh Nurseries
Smith, J. Wesley, & Sons	Helderleigh Nurseries
Smith, Leon	Winona Nursery Company
Snow, Chas. H.	Helderleigh Nurseries
	Island View Strawberry Plant Nurseries
Stock, James	same
Stone, George A.	Fonthill Nurseries
Taylor, Isabella C.	Taylor Nurseries
Taylor, Samuel	same
Tweddle, Joseph	same
Tweedy, H.	Watts Nursery Co.
Tweedy, John H.	Watts Nursery Co.
Vanduzer, Dennis	A.M. Smith & Co.; same
Vanduzer, Ira E.	Winona Nursery Company
Van Wagner, H.P.	same
Wade, John	Hamilton Gardens
Watts, Thomas	Watts Nursery Co.
Webster Bros.	Webster Floral Co., Ltd.
Wellington, Earle Stanley	Pelham Nursery Company
Wellington, F.W.	Fonthill Nurseries
Wellington, Fred W.	Welland Nursery Company
Wellington, Stanley C.	Pelham Nursery Company
Wellington, William	Fonthill Nurseries
Wellington, William E.	Fonthill Nurseries
Westland, J.F.	same
Wetherald, Samuel J.	Fonthill Nurseries
Whiting, Herbert M.	Whiting Nursery Co.
Williams, Frank C.	Watts Nursery Co.
Wills, Harvey Wesley	Fenwick Nurseries
Wismer, J.H.	same
Woolverton, Charles Edward	Grimsby Nursery
Woolverton, Charles Ernest	Specialty Nursery Company

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

Canadian Horticultural History publishes original research papers on the history of Canadian horticulture and related disciplines. The wide range of interest in all phases of horticulture is interpreted in the broadest sense to include these subject areas: historical garden restorations and reconstructions; biographies of Canadian horticulturists and landscape designers; histories of botanical gardens, arboreta, experimental stations, commercial nurseries and seed firms; accounts of plant breeding work and of plant explorations; ethnobotanical studies of native peoples and early settlers in what is now Canada and the northern United States; and comprehensive bibliographies. There is no limit on the length of papers provided length is appropriate to content. Equally acceptable are short communications, book reviews, announcements and news of conferences.

Manuscripts:

Manuscripts to be considered for publication should be sent to the Editor, Canadian Horticultural History, CCHHS, Royal Botanical Gardens, Box 399, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada L8N 3H8. Manuscripts should be sent in duplicate (original and one copy), including illustrations (originals); typed on one side of the paper, double-spaced with a wide margin (at least 5 cm). Manuscripts will be accepted and published in English or French.

The author(s) should provide a short (200 words) informative abstract which will be translated into Canada's other official language. Pages should be numbered consecutively throughout the manuscript.

Literature citations should conform to the formats below:

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Pomeroy, E.M. 1956. William Saunders and his five sons: the story of the Marquis Wheat Family. Toronto: Ryerson Press. xiii 192 pp + 3 pl.

Wilson, E.H. 1927. Plant hunting. Boston: Stratford Company. 2 vols.

Chapter in a book of multiple authorship.

Stothers, D.M., & R.A. Yarnell. 1977. An agricultural revolution in the lower Great Lakes. *In:* Romans, R.C., ed. Geobotany. New York and London: Plenum Press. pp. 209-232.

Thesis or dissertation.

Waterston, C.M. 1978. The Hermitage: an exercise in landscape reconstruction. M.Sc. thesis, University of Guelph. ix + 137 pp.

Journal article.

Schuyler, D. 1984. The evolution of the Anglo-American rural cemetary: landscape architecture as social and cultural history. J. Gard. Hist. 4:291-304.

Barker, W.G., I.V. Hall, L.E. Aalders & G.W. Wood. 1964. The lowbush blueberry industry in eastern Canada. Econ. Bot. 18:357-365.

Bulletin or journal in which each issue comprises one article, independently paged.

Bowden, W.M. 1976. A survey of wisterias in southern Ontario. Roy. Bot. Gard. Techn. Bull. 8. 15 pp.

Abbreviations of journal titles according to B-P-H, Botanico-Periodicum-Huntianum, Lawrence, G.H.M. et al. 1968, Pittsburgh: Hunt Botanical Library.

Acknowledgements, if needed, should appear at the end of the article before the references. Footnotes should be kept to a minimum and should be numbered consecutively.

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Les manuscrits que l'on souhaite faire publier doivent être envoyés à la rédactrice en chef, Histoire de l'horticulture au Canada, CCHHS, Royal Botanical Gardens, Box 399, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada L8N 3H8. Ils doivent être envoyés en double exemplaire (l'original et une copie) accompagnés d'illustrations (originales) et tapés sur un seul côté de la page, à double interligne, avec une bonne marge (au moins 5 cm). Nous acceptons et publions des manuscrits en anglais et en francais.

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Chapitre d'un livre rédigé par plusieurs auteurs

Stothers, D.M., & R.A. Yarnell. 1977. An agricultural revolution in the lower Great Lakes. *In:* Romans, R.C., ed. Geobotany. New York and London: Plenum Press. pp. 209-232.

Thèse ou mémoire

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Bulletin ou journal dont chaque numéro comprend un article, paginé individuellement

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Les remerciements doivent figurer, le cas échéant, à la fin des articles, avant les références. On limitera au maximum les notes en bas de page et on les numérotera consécutivement.

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